Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-94-238 *12 December 1994*

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Berisha on Talks With Leaders at CSCE Summit

AU0912152794 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 7 Dec 94

[Interview with Albanian President Sali Berisha by unidentified RTSh correspondent in Budapest; date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent] Mr. President, what are some of the results of this high-level summit? Can you tell us something about your impressions as regards the meetings you had there with high-ranking authorities of European countries?

[Berisha] I would like to state that the summit of heads of state or government of CSCE-member countries, which met in Budapest for two consecutive days, forecast that the role of this very important organization—which, as is known, played a very great role in breaking down the iron curtain—will grow stronger, and new dimensions will be added to it. The meeting envisaged giving new dimensions to the organization's role regarding the strengthening of security, peace, stability, human rights and minority rights in the entire region covered by this organization.

I would like to assert that the summit did not accomplish its first goal of giving new dimensions to its role because two different viewpoints lined up at that summit. One was the U.S. viewpoint, backed by Western countries. According to this view, the expansion of NATO and the strengthening of the CSCE's role are very important in preserving peace and stability.

The Russian viewpoint differed from the previous one and considered the expansion of NATO antagonistic, and an opposition toward the Russian Federation. This influenced the conference's further proceedings, unfortunately blocking some of its decisions. There were no decisions regarding the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and the situation in Bosnia. Even a call regarding humanitarian aid made by the prime minister of Hungary, the host country, did not find consensus there—for the Bosnian representative declared that it was not a matter of a natural calamity but of aggression and that, therefore, this call should mention the aggression.

In other respects, I cannot say that the conference did not achieve results. Achievements were made regarding the further commitment of this conference in respecting human rights and freedoms, minority rights, control over armaments, the establishment of a code of behavior, and the use of military measures. That is, there was agreement on a series of topics that are currently being worked on, and progress was made regarding the sending of CSCE peacekeepers to Nagorno-Karabakh.

However, the general opinion was that we are facing a serious violation of the principles on which this conference was built. Efforts will continue.

Availing myself of the excellent organization by the hosts—whom I want to thank here, both President Gonca and Prime Minister Horn, for the very good organization—I had the opportunity to hold a series of meetings, exchange views, and talk with many heads of states, prime ministers, foreign ministers, and leaders of international institutions.

Thus, at a working lunch given by the host country, I was at the same table as German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Mr. Jacques Delors, German Foreign Minister Kinkel, and foreign commissioner van den Broek. We discussed bilateral relations between Albania and Germany, the prospects for these relations, and, particularly, the great need for Albania to be integrated into European structures.

I think my interlocutors, Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Kinkel, understood me, as regards the issues we put forward. Germany has promised to be Albania's attorney, and will continue to support and assist Albania both in the development of reforms—which were highly appraised—and their success as regards Albania's role as a factor of peace and stability in the Balkans.

Thus, during the reception, I held a special meeting with British Prime Minister Major in which we analyzed bilateral relations, which are progressing and developing quite well. Besides this, Major stressed the British Government's support for Albania's integration into European structures. Prime Minister Major assured me that the British Government, Her Majesty's Government, will support Albania in its integration—and that Albania is marching at a commendable rate on the road of reforms, both in the consolidation of democracy and the market economy reform.

I also met Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez. Bilateral relations and Albania's integration were the topics of this conversation.

I met Turkish Prime Minister Ciller at a dinner she hosted. We discovered the excellent level of relations between the two countries, politically and in several other fields. We insisted these be followed by economic cooperation of greater intensity. In all these talks, the situation in the region was one of the main topics.

I had a special and very cordial meeting with Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, to whom I conveyed my deepest gratitude for the great assistance Italy has given Albania at one of the most difficult periods of its history. At the same time, I expressed my high esteem for the great efforts Mr. Berlusconi's government is making to revive the Italian economy, Italy; and to give new dimensions to its role in the region and world.

Prime Minister Berlusconi and Foreign Minister Martino, who was present at this meeting, assured me that Albania is at the top of aid priorities for Italy, and that besides cooperation aid, in which Albania will have priority, they will encourage Italian investors to come and invest in Albania. They stressed that Italy is deeply interested in the East-West corridor that connects all these countries with Italy and Europe. I can assert that

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we shared viewpoints with Prime Minister Berlusconi about developments in the region and in both our countries. Berlusconi reiterated to me the invitation from President Scalfaro to visit Italy, which I will do as soon as possible.

During my stay at the summit, I met Belgian Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene, who supported and expressed admiration and respect for great changes in Albania and its policy. Dehaene assured me that Belgium has included Albania in the funds for cooperation and economic assistance, and His Majesty's government, the government of the Kingdom of Belgium headed by Mr. Dehaene, will encourage Belgian investors to come invest in Albania. Dehaene showed great understanding oft Albania's policy and guaranteed his support for Albania's integration into European structures and institutions.

I also met with Jacques Santer, prime minister of Luxembourg and future president of the European Union [EU]. We discussed problems of bilateral relations and Albania's integration into Europe. Mr. Santer was very well- informed about developments in Albania and assessed highly its achievements as regards democracy and the market economy. Santer expressed his readiness for the European Commission to assist Albania in the process of its integration to the EU.

I held other meetings and talks, and exchanged opinions with Danish Prime Minister Rasmussen and the Norwegian prime minister.

I also met and held talks with Austrian President Thomas Klestil. We discussed our very good bilateral relations and expressed satisfaction about the development of relations between Albania and Austria. Mr. Klestil assured me that Austria will support Albania and its integration into the EU.

At the same time, I held a special meeting with Swiss President Otto Stich. Switzerland is a country that has helped Albania a lot. I conveyed my gratitude to him and asked that the Swiss Confederation continue to assist Albania and include it in other funds of aid for Albania—and particularly as regards the assistance that the Swiss Government can grant to Albania by encouraging a solution to the foreign debt problem, to which we are totally committed.

We exchanged ideas with Croatian President Tudjman and Bosnian President Izetbegovic. We discussed the situation in the region, the development of cooperation between Albania and Croatia, and ways and solutions to problems of crisis in Bosnia.

I also held a special meeting with the Swedish foreign minister. I thanked Sweden for the assistance given Albania and asked for Sweden's support for Albania's integration into European structures—as well as bilateral assistance, particularly in encouraging Swedish investments in Albania.

During my stay there, I met Bulgarian President Zhelev. We discussed bilateral relations.... [interview ends as heard]

Spokesman Denies Interview Given Greek Daily

AU0912164294 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Asked to comment on an article published by the Greek newspaper TA NEA—and republished by FINANCIAL TIMES—according to which the president of the Republic declared in Budapest that five Albanian citizens of Greek nationality sentenced by Albanian courts will soon be released, the president's spokesman confirmed that Albanian President Sali Berisha did not give TA NEA any interviews at the CSCE summit.

Funding Sought for Nuclear Detection Equipment

AU0912180794 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] A program drafted by specialists at the Nuclear Physics Institute anticipates the installation of nuclear detection devices at all customs points on the Albanian border. The project has been submitted to the World Bank, seeking financial support to implement it.

The main goal of this project is to prevent the passage of various nuclear materials in or out of our country.

Berisha, Visiting Admiral Address Cooperation

AU1012155494 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Welcoming him to the country, President Berisha told Admiral (?Jacques Lanxade), chief of the Army General Staff of the French Armed Forces: Your visit to Albania constitutes an important event for the cooperation between our two countries and armies.

I would like to stress that Albania is very interested in strengthen friendship and cooperation with France in all spheres, including the military. We consider the matters of security and defense to be of primary importance. In this connection, in cooperation with your army and country, we see a real possibility of strengthening them. I would also like to thank you for your readiness to assist our army and assure you that Albania is ready, both at the bilateral level and within the framework of Partnership for Peace with NATO, to take part in joint trainings and programs.

Regarding the situation in the region, President Berisha said that tension is increasing every day and that the withdrawal of the UN defense forces would have tragic consequences and would be accompanied by an entire war, not only in Bosnia but also outside that republic. In this framework, Kosova remains a delicate problem. It is necessary that Belgrade and the legitimate representatives of Kosova begin a dialogue in the presence of a

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third party. To ignore Kosova, President Berisha said, means to increase tension and the danger that the conflict will explode.

For his part, Admiral Lanxade said that France pays attention to stability and follows developments in our region closely: I want to stress that France is interested in cooperating concretely and seriously with Albania, thus serving not only the development of your army but also the approach with its co-sisters in the NATO member-countries and other countries as well.

Chiefs of Staff View Relations

AU1012155194 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 9 Dec 94

[Report by Aferdita Sokoli]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the Defense Ministry this morning, Major General Sheme Kosova, chief of the Army General Staff, received French Army Chief of Staff Lanxade, who arrived in Tirana last night.

Kosova-Lanxade talks focused on the development of Albanian-French relations in the military sphere and on the situation in the region.

Explaining to his French counterpart changes in the Albanian Army, its goals to become a modern democratic army, and its relations with all NATO states, Kosova expressed to his interlocutor the desire and need to establish close cooperation with the French Army, relations that began two years ago.

The French Army chief of staff stressed: The beginning of real cooperation with you began particularly with the visit of your predecessor in France last year. Nascent relations with you are of special interest for us, because Albania is situated in a sensitive region that has become more destabilized with the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, something that cannot but influence Europe. He pointed out that France has approximately 5,000 soldiers in Bosnia and Croatia, and air and naval military logistics incorporated in the framework of controlling the embargo.

Lanxade stressed that international diplomacy is currently blocked with the Bosnian issue. It would be dramatic if UN forces were to withdraw from Bosnia. Our concern is to reach peace.

Assessing Albania's efforts to integrate into NATO, Lanxade suggested that work can be done to establish ties with the Western European Union [WEU], as both NATO and WEU are political and military organizations that complement each other. We are ready to develop bilateral relations and foster broader cooperation in joint training. This readiness will be strengthened by the fact that on Monday [12 Deceber], the treaty of friendship will be signed between both countries.

Zhulali, Lanxade Meet

AU1012155394 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 9 Dec 94

[Report by Aferdita Sokoli]

[FBIS Translated Text] During a meeting with French Army Chief of Staff Lanxade, Defense Minister Safet Zhulali assessed Lanxade's visit to Albania as taking place at an auspicious time for the new development of bilateral relations in the military sphere. He stressed the the Albanian Army's needs for assistance and said that the determination of spheres in this direction creates possibilities for drafting a proper program.

Focusing on the grave and complex situation in the region, Zhulali expressed his concern over the danger of the spread of conflict if Serbia is not halted. It is necessary to think about the problem of Kosova and its solution through dialogue, to which France can contribute.

Minister Zhulali expressed his conviction that there should be a serious commitment for more fruitful cooperation betweena the two sides in the future.

Lanxade stressed: The purpose of my visit is double-edged, to see how bilateral relations might develop, and to see the situation in the region. Bilateral cooperation has started. We will see how to restructure this cooperation toward a mutual military agreement, giving our actions concrete form. We discussed with the chief of the Albanian Army Staff the areas in which we could be more efficient.

Lanxade Visits Base, Departs

AU1012212694 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Admiral Lanxade, chief of the French Army General Staff, accompanied by Major General Sheme Kosova, chief of our Army General Staff, today went to the Durres naval district and was received at district headquarters with a military ceremony and honor guards.

The admiral and the party accompanying him then reviewed the equipment, technique, and the objects of a navy force unit.

Defense Minister Safet Zhulali hosted a working luncheon in honor of the French military delegation.

Today, too, Admiral Lanxade and the other members of the French delegation left our country. Major General Sheme Kosova, chief of our Army General Staff, and other high-ranking Defense Ministry officials were out at the Rinas airport to see the delegation off.

The French ambassador in Tirana, Mr. Dominique, was also present.

Berisha Appoints Labor Minister, 2 Court Members

AU1012173494 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1358 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] At the proposal of the chairman of the Council of Ministers and based on the law on main Constitutional provisions, President of the Republic of

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Albania Sali Berisha has decreed the appointment of Engjell Dakli as minister of labor, emigration, social assistance, and former political persecutees.

Based on the prerogatives granted by the Constitutional law, President Berisha has decreed the appointment of Zija Buci and Alfred Karamuco as members of the Constitutional Court.

Minister Visits UK With View to Cooperation

LD1012213894 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1900 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Albanian Interior Minister Agron Musaraj paid an official visit to Great Britain at the invitation of the interior minister of the host country. The main aim of the visit was to lay a foundation for cooperation between the two ministries in the fight against organized crime, arms and drug trafficking. At the meeting with state minister David Maclean, discussions revolved around the importance of this cooperation, especially as concerns the fight against organized and individual crime. Albanian Interior Minister Musaraj passed on to his British counterpart a draft agreement on cooperation.

Mr. Musaraj also met with the director-general of Britain's intelligence service, Albert Pace. Mr. Pace welcomed Mr. Musaraj's request for the qualification [as heard] of the offices of the Albanian police service under the British intelligence service. During the London visit, Mr. Musaraj had some other meetings with top officials in this domain.

Prospects for Release of Greek 'Five' Viewed

AU1212091894 Lezhe KOHA JONE in Albanian 8 Dec 94 p 3

[Article by Ben Blushi: "Berisha Promises Release of 'The Five'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It seems that Sali Berisha has promised to stop playing "Now you see me, now you don't," by speaking out clearly at the CSCE summit in Budapest, promising the release of the five members of the Greek minority. In an interview with the Greek daily TA NEA, Berisha said that "the five" will be released very soon. "We are ready to respond to the gesture by the Greek Government," replied Berisha, referring to the $18 million from the EU that Greece agreed could be given to Albania.

Berisha set no deadline for the release of the five, but the last possible date must be Christmas, at the end of December. If Berisha keeps his word, the five Orthodox members of the Greek minority will emerge from isolation on the biblical date of the birth of Jesus.

The imprisonment of "the five" has cost Albania $43 million denied by the EU, as well as 50,000 repatriated refugees. These make up the material side of the coin. Politically, the imprisonment of the members of the minority lowered a curtain between Albania and the EU, of which Greece is a member. The EU's position toward Albania has been systematically influenced by Greece. The indifference shown Albania in comparison to other former Communist countries is not accidental. Albania is the only country not to be admitted to the Council of Europe. Six months ago, it was not even included in the famous "Baladur Plan," which invited to a common table all the former Communist countries that are candidates to join the EU in the near future. Only Slovenia and Albania were missing from Baladur's list. Slovenia was absent because of Italy's veto and the problems Italy has with its minority in Slovenia. Meanwhile, Albania was absent for many reasons, including its problems with Greece. Nevertheless, Slovenia has succeeded in becoming a member of the Council of Europe, a threshold Albania cannot cross. Ever since coming to power, the Albanian administration has stressed that Albania's road to Europe does not lie through Athens. This administration is nevertheless aware of Greece's weight in Europe. At a time when Albania has no natural ally (as Slovenia and Croatia might have in Germany), the main thing is not to add to its opponents. Albania has had its ally in Turkey, but the truth is that Turkey does not possess the right to speak in European institutions. Turkey cannot defend Albania at those tables where Greece attacks her.

As part of the Albanian administration's feverish efforts to draw closer to Europe, the release of the five is no doubt a major concession that Berisha has decided to make to his neighbor. The release of the five is inextricably linked to the defeat of the referendum for the Constitution. Berisha was promised membership in the Council of Europe if the constitution were to be approved. The constitution was no doubt the first path the Albanian bicycle had to negotiate along its road to Europe. The opposition has now blocked this path. Berisha feels more obstructed than ever. His hands are tied both at home and abroad. He has imprisoned Greece's five "Trojan horses," and also the opposition's Fatos Nano. In his usual style, the president will try to "take the fortress from outside, not from within." He has shown that he would rather seek consensus among foreigners than among Albanians. Pursuing this logic, Berisha sooner frees from their chains the hostages that he has taken from Greece than his hostages from the opposition. A consensus with the opposition over the matter of the constitution would long ago have launched Berisha into Europe. However, Berisha does not recognize the roads leading to the opposition. By pardoning the five members of the Greek minority, Berisha is attempting to compensate for the consensus lost within the country. He is nevertheless been deceiving himself. Freeing the five does not mean a consensus, but a sale. Berisha is selling "the five" for $45 million. Meanwhile, Greece is buying the members of the minority with the EU's money. During Berisha's tenure of office, the two sides have been through such trials that, even if they succeed in reaching a common bargaining language, they will never find the language of friendship.

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However, the bargaining that Berisha is planning to conclude at Christmas began long ago in Albania. The general amnesty for the November holiday was the embryo of the infant to be born at Christmas. The tale that Berisha would seek the release of the five by means of amnesty turned out to be mere rumor. If the president had wished to extract from prison the members of the minority with the help of the hands of the Democratic Party deputies who voted for the amnesty, nobody would have stopped him. However, Berisha kept the card of the five for himself. Six months ago, when he released the journalists A. Frangaj and M. Leka by personal decree, Berisha peeped out to play "Now you see me..."

The scheme is now familiar. It is merely repeated at different times. The journalists were pardoned for Easter, and the members of the minority will be pardoned for Christmas.

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Armed Forces Chief on Current Army Problems

AU1112193694 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 3 Dec 94 p 3

[Interview with Colonel General Tsvetan Totomirov, chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian Armed Forces, by Vacho Radulov; place and date not given: "A Humiliated Soldier Has No High Fighting Spirit"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Radulov] General Totomirov, what caused the recent personnel shuffle in the Army?

[Totomirov] The cadre changes at the top level of the Bulgarian Army made a few days ago were dictated by our desire to further improve the work of administering the troops and maintaining combat readiness and discipline. People with great professional experience who have produced good results in their previous work have been placed in positions of responsibility. This also ensures that the army cadres continue to develop in a promising way in the future. [passage omitted]

[Radulov] What is the most worrying problem facing the Bulgarian Army at the moment?

[Totomirov] What is most alarming at the moment are the increasingly frequent attempts to attack military installations and sentries, with the aim of stealing weapons, ammunition, fuel, and electrical cables. Some of these incidents have been reported in various newspapers. However, I would point out that these are merely the most conspicuous cases, since a great many other similar incidents have taken place in the last two years. In addition, we cannot fail to be alarmed by the attempts to bribe servicemen to supply weapons from military units. For this reason, as before, we will continue to insist on strict adherence to the military oath of allegiance and the Armed Forces statutes. The sentry on duty is inviolable, and he is duty-bound to use his weapon without hesitation in the event of an attack on his post or in case of danger to his own life. This is a severe warning to all those thinking of making attacks on servicemen or military property.

[Radulov] You are a constructive, calm man; your colleagues say that affectation is alien to you. Has this helped you to solve the problem of the "colonels"?

[Totomirov] Thank you for your kind words, but the so-called "colonels" problem, as I have already had the opportunity to state, was artificially created and exploited speculatively. The main issue in this case was how the retirement of some of the command staff would affect the troops' combat training and combat readiness. Accordingly, the military councils held meetings to discuss and finalize the lists of officers proposed for retirement. Our arguments were well-reasoned, and, accordingly, former Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov accepted them without objection. Thus, the problem was resolved in a manner that was good for the army. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Indzhova on Cabinet Activities

AU0912183594 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 6 Dec 94

[Interview with Prime Minister Reneta Indzhova by Teodora Peeva; place and date not given: "I Do Whatever I Deem Necessary"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Peeva] The basic accusation against your government is that it exceeds the prerogatives accorded to it by the presidential mandate. Do you agree?

[Indzhova] I do what I think should be done. The situation—a presidential mandate, functions, and so on—is unprecedented. There is no model with which to compare the caretaker cabinet and determine whether it exceeds its prerogatives or not.

[Peeva] What I mean is that some of your financial decisions are a "time-bomb" of sorts for future cabinets....

[Indzhova] What is a time-bomb? The funds for social needs that had been included in the 1994 budget and had been forgotten since mid-year? Or perhaps the funds we allocate for the elections? It is interesting, but no one has said that the money for elections is a time-bomb. [passage omitted]

[Peeva] Do you think that a strong executive will emerge after the elections, and that it will continue what you began?

[Indzhova] Usually people think along the following lines: "This cabinet raised the bar too much, and we will have to jump rather high." I do not think so. I think that everyone raises the bar as high as he himself can jump. Therefore, I do whatever I deem necessary. Let the "time-bomb" be the cliche that history attaches to this cabinet, but then let the cabinet itself suffer the consequences when the bombs explode.

[Peeva] How could we explain the fact that the criticism against you comes primarily from the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], while the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] somehow tacitly supports you?

[Indzhova] There was a time when people said that the BSP supports me. Now they say the opposite. I have not changed at all.

[Peeva] Do you think that it is normal to be supported by the SDS...?

[Indzhova] It is difficult to say. Everything depends on the political situation. Let us say that we are at a stage when the pancake is not ready yet, and has not been turned over.

[Peeva] To what degree does the president influence the work of your cabinet?

[Indzhova] Whatever I say will become a matter of speculation. However, the truth is that this cabinet was formed on the principles and ideas of an independent but constitutionally envisaged executive power. I think that so far we have been functioning in accordance with those principles and ideas. [passage omitted]

[Peeva] Will there be former ministers who will be prosecuted?

[Indzhova] Yes, there are such ministers, and we demand that the prosecution organs react quickly. I think the actions of the investigation, prosecution, and court must be intensified. There exists the danger that no reaction will follow our signals.

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[Peeva] Which former ministers will be implicated?

[Indzhova] I cannot predict. New things that have been suppressed, or not exposed for lack of courage, emerge every day.

[Peeva] Does this mean there are compromising documents on almost all Berov's cabinet ministers?

[Indzhova] The cabinet is acting according to the "cause-effect" formula. We do not allow ourselves to seek retribution for things done in the remote past. I think retribution can be sought only as regards the near past. The other is historically impossible, and would only disturb the present. [passage omitted]

[Peeva] How will the cabinet cope with the problems that emerge daily, such as the water problem, the gas from Ukraine, and so forth?

[Indzhova] Everything depends on the circumstances. The difficulties with electricity, water, and fuel could at present only have political connotations. Without knowing anything about an accident, for example at the National Electricity Company, my position is that we cannot afford any technical accidents. They have the character of political provocations. We try to avoid things that could become a critical test for the cabinet. This applies to the loyalty and behavior of the National Electricity Company, the municipal administrations, and those who implement intergovernmental contacts and conduct talks on gas, coal, and oil. We know very well where the critical points and tests are. We try to neutralize such activities. We introduced dual investigations—by professional commissions and the National Investigation Service.

[Peeva] Is there a suspicion that the behavior of certain state employees is not accidental?

[Indzhova] If this is so I act in the following way: The ministers of internal affairs and defense are expected to deal with a critical situation. If the said critical situation acquires unpleasant political connotations, then I should deal with the aforementioned ministers. [passage omitted]

Article Examines Power To Appoint Envoys

95P20233A Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 29 Nov 94 p 9

[Article by Ivaylo Ivanov: "Politically Motivated Appointments of Diplomats Harm Our International Interests"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] One of the insufficiently exploited, even if scarce, resources of the Bulgarian state is well-trained personnel, including diplomats. Despite this fact, "both before and now," "political appointments" abound—political appointments being, in most cases, a euphemism for "nonprofessionals" in the leadership of diplomatic posts abroad.

The practice of making "political appointments" of ambassadors is open to criticism for several reasons:

First, apart from the real danger of an insufficiently qualified ambassador reducing, if not paralyzing, the effectiveness of the embassy, he is not in a position to ensure the necessary degree of continuity in the conduct of our country's foreign policy. The conduct of foreign policy is very vulnerable to the excessive politicization and ideologicization of our domestic life—characteristics that if brought into the diplomatic sphere would damage the long-range foreign policy interests of the state. [passage omitted]

According to Article 98 of the Bulgarian Constitution, "The president of the Republic ... appoints and dismisses the leaders of the diplomatic establishments and the permanent representatives of the Republic of Bulgaria to international organizations in accordance with nominations from the Council of Ministers...." The president has the right to veto appointments, but he cannot nominate candidates to ambassadorial posts by himself. The candidate who is proposed and appointed by a caretaker cabinet, which does not represent the will of parliament, could perhaps subsequently be withdrawn from his post either by the National Assembly or by a cabinet elected by the Assembly. This could lead to interruptions in our relations with the country in question.

Second: The position of ambassador is the highest diplomatic rank, logically and legally at the apex of professional development toward which all who aspire to a diplomatic career should strive. The ambassador should, to the greatest extent possible, fulfill the requirements of an employee of the diplomatic service, namely: completion of higher education in international relations, political science, law or economics (except in unusual cases)—and should have a command of at least two foreign languages.

"Political appointments" of ambassadors infringe upon the right of career diplomats to professional development, and to a certain extent serve as a disincentive in their professional work. Such appointments should be made only as exceptional cases, and such candidates must fulfill the highest professional criteria expected from career diplomats.

It is obvious that the Independent Trade Union of Employees in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should work actively to defend the rights to advancement of its members. In this respect, it is instructive to note the experience of our colleagues in developed democratic countries. For example, in the United States (a presidential republic and one of the few developed countries with a significant number of "political appointments," but, unlike us, with a broad consensus in foreign policy), the AFSA (a professional association of employees at the Department of State and the Agency for International Development) has vigorously defended the position that career diplomats should be in the top foreign policy posts. [passage omitted]

Law Passed Establishing Security Groups

95BA0020A Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK No 84 in Bulgarian 14 Oct 94 pp 6-7

[Council of Ministers Decree]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Decree No. 210, dated 5 October 1994, on organizing groups for security and the preservation of facts, information, and items considered state secret of the Republic of Bulgaria.*

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Council of Ministers Decree

Article 1

(1) Groups for security and preservation of facts, information, and objects classified as state secrets of the Republic of Bulgaria shall be created by state authorities and organizations, according to the list in the appendix.

(2) The size and personnel of the security groups shall be determined by the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

(3) The personnel of the security units shall consist of officers of the National Security Service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the regional security services operating within state agencies and organizations, as stipulated in Paragraph 1.

Article 2

(1) The organization and functions of the group for security and preservation of state secrets shall be defined by the minister of internal affairs and the head of the respective ministry or department.

(2) The Ministry of Internal Affairs shall assist and supervise nongovernmental agencies and organizations in the establishment, organization, and functioning of the groups for security and preservation of state secrets, which have been granted permission to work in strategic and life-supporting entities, or whose work involves facts, information, and objects constituting a state secret.

Concluding Stipulations

1. The present decree is based on Article 105, Paragraph 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria, and Article 14 of the Law on the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

2. The decree invalidates Regulation No. 187 of the Council of Ministers Bureau of 1972 on taking additional measures for the protection of state and official secrets (unpublished).

3. The implementation of this decree is assigned to the minister of internal affairs and the heads of the respective ministries and other departments.

Lyuben Berov, prime minister

Dimitur Bongalov, for the secretary general of the Council of Ministers

Appendix to Article 1, Paragraph 1

List of state agencies and organizations in which security groups are established.

1. Council of Ministers.
2. Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
3. Ministry of Industry.
4. Ministry of Finance.
5. Ministry of Transportation.
6. Ministry of Trade.
7. Ministry of Justice.
8. Ministry of Health.
9. Ministry of Agriculture.
10. Committee for Power Supply.
11. Committee for Post and Telecommunications.
12. Civil Aviation Administration of the Ministry of Transportation.
13. Balkan Airlines.
14. Main Roads Administration.
15. Bulgarian State Railroads Company.
16. Bulgarian Maritime Fleet Shipping Administration.
17. Technological Subdivision of Telecommunications—Lovech.
18. Entities of the Military-Industrial Complex:
    a. "VZM"—EOOD [single proprietor limited liability company], Sopot;
    b. "Metalkhim Kholding" .D [single proprietor stock company], Sopot;
    c. "Beta"—EOOD, Cherven Bryag;
    d. "Arsenal"—EAD, Kazanluk;
    e. "Dunarit"—EOOD, Ruse;
    f. "Trema"—EOOD, Tryavna;
    g. "Pima"—EAD, Montana;
    h. "Oelt"—OOD [limited liability company], Sofia, "OELT"—EOOD, Sofia;
    i. "Arkus"—EAD, Lyaskovets;
    j. "Smyadovo-KhP"—EAD, Smyadovo;
    k. "Elovitsa"—EOOD, Gabrovo;
    l. "Elektron-Konsortsium"—EAD, Sofia;
    m. "Optikoelektron"—EOOD, Panagyurishte;
    n. "Cherno More"—EAD, Varna;
    o. "NITI"—EAD, Kazanluk;
    p. "Elektronproges"—EOOD, Sofia;
    q. "Samel-90"—EOOD, Samokov;
    r. "Eko-El"—EOOD, Pleven;
    s. "Kinteks"—EAD, Sofia;
    t. "Armimeks"—EOOD, Sofia;
    u. "Elmet-Inzhenering"—EAD, Sofia;
    v. "Teraton"—EAD, Sofia.
19. Industrial projects:
    a. "Neftokhim"—EAD, Burgas, "Neftokhim"—AD [stock company], Burgas;
    b. "Sodi"—EAD, "Polimeri"—EAD, "Agropolikhim"—EAD, Devnya;
    c. "Plama"—AD, Pleven;
    d. "Vidakhim"—AD, Vidin;
    e. "AETS" [nuclear power plant]—Kozloduy;
    f. "Maritsa-Iztok" TETs [Thermoelectric Power Plant];
    g. "Kremikovtsi"—EAD;
    h. "LEKOKO"—EOOD, Radomir;
    i. "OTsK"—EOOD, Kurdzhali;
    j. "Farmatsiya"—EAD, Sofia;
    k. "KTsM"—EAD, Plovdiv.
20. Missions abroad, based on a list drawn up by the minister of internal affairs and the minister of foreign affairs.

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President Discusses CSCE Budapest Summit

LD1112195094 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 11 Dec 94

[Interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by Eva Hulkova; date place not given—recorded; from the "Conversations at Lany" program]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Hulkova] Mr. President, you mentioned the CSCE summit in Budapest in the last edition of Conversations at Lany. However, given the fact that this was before the deliberations, I think it would not be a bad idea to return to this subject today as well, given the course of the deliberations. I would be interested above all in whether the impression of a catastrophe, created once the deliberations were over, is realistic. What do you think? [passage omitted]

[Havel] Whoever has studied all the decisions and resolutions adopted there, and there are more than a few of them, knows that the summit's outcome is more or less a good one.

There was only one shadow cast over it—that is the fact that no resolution was adopted on Bosnia-Herzegovina. The fact that 52 presidents, representing one entire half of our hemisphere, were unable to agree on a common position condemning several bandits is, of course, extremely sad. It is almost shocking. However, it does not make sense to say that because of this the conference failed.

It was, in fact, naive to hope that the conference would adopt something of this kind. Given the composition of all of those countries attending, it was obvious, especially given the fact that the principle of a consensus applies—that is, that all have to agree with a position—it was naive to expect that Russia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia would be capable of agreeing on a joint resolution.

This will not necessarily have a large impact on the CSCE's work. It is merely a reflection and a sign of the overall failure of the democratic world to face up to the situation and to help tackle it, saving the fundamental principles on which the democratic world itself is based and that are simply spat upon. The CSCE has merely reflected the democratic world's attitude of resignation regarding this entire matter. However, it is not possible to describe this as some kind of failure because the CSCE has never had a solution of this situation on its agenda. The CSCE's aim was merely to take a position on this. However, this shocking or sad fact that they did not agree on it should not overshadow the significance of all those things they agreed upon there. [passage omitted]

These things can more or less fill us with satisfaction. They are also in harmony with the ideas we had when going there, with what we expected, what we hoped for. That is that strengthening the CSCE, which means drawing the emerging security structure of Russia and the CIS into a Europe-wide dialogue, into shared decisionmaking and shared responsibility, would at the same time lead Russia to respect the fact that to make the Europe-wide order really permanent, good, and functioning, the will of individual states to join a security or other alliance they want to join must be respected, as well as their right to apply for membership.

The first impression could be that Russia got what it wanted as far as the first thing is concerned—that is, the strengthening of the CSCE as a Europe-wide organization—and that, on the other hand, Russia stuck to its veto against expanding NATO.

However, this is just the first impression brought about by Yeltsin's rather cutting speech. Nevertheless, in my view, those concrete steps, concessions, agreements in the sphere of practical diplomacy are perhaps more important than his speech addressed to all those cameras from all over the world, Russian cameras and the home audience, and so forth. [passage omitted]

[Hulkova] Mr. President, could you explain the concept of preventive diplomacy, which you used in your speech in Budapest? [passage omitted]

[Havel] Preventive diplomacy is a very important, though very inconspicuous, task carried out by the CSCE. It is a task that cannot be done by the United Nations. It is a preventive solution of various crises or prevention of crises by the CSCE by sending missions to those various places, providing recommendations to governments. This is a very important role. I find the decision on multinational units in Karabakh as most important because it is a precedent that tells us that no member state has an a priori right or duty to deal with all possible conflicts in its surroundings on its own. It means that we all take over the shared responsibility for the potential conflict. We do not delegate this responsibility to one single state, and, thus, we avoid laying foundations of any new division into spheres of influence, power spheres or the like.

In this respect, I think the adoption of the resolution on Karabakh is a great success for this summit. This is the first instance of the CSCE sending out multinational peace forces.

[Hulkova] [passage omitted] Could you tell us about some of your bilateral talks?

[Havel] [passage omitted] I think the talks with Chancellor Kohl were very important. It is obvious that Germany, our largest neighbor and a country that ranks among the strong countries of Europe, which is undergoing integration, has a very important impact on the speed of our integration into both the EU and NATO. I think it was very important to discuss these issues as well as other outstanding bilateral matters with Chancellor Kohl again. Chancellor Kohl said that he could envision the Czech Republic joining NATO before joining the EU. [passage omitted]

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Havel Comments on Czech-Baltic Summit Results

LD0912211194 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Czech President Vaclav Havel today informed Czech Radio about the results of the Czech-Baltic summit that ended in Prague yesterday. Among other things, the president stressed the importance of his first ever meeting with the leaders of the Baltic states. He stated that it was a significant political event that expressed the similarity of our destinies, as well as the close links between our cultures and civilization. The president conveyed his delight about the meetings taking place and stressed that the talks were very friendly.

Havel also answered a question from our editor Eva Hulkova.

[Begin recording] [Hulkova] Mr. President, do you think that, with regard to integration into the West European structures, the spirit of solidarity between the Czech Republic and the Baltic states has won over the spirit of competition?

[Havel] We definitely do not want to compete in the sense that we would not wish anyone to overhaul us. On the contrary, if somebody overhauls us, we will congratulate them. We know that admission into the West European structures will be carried out individually or in phases. We realize that the Baltic states, in some aspects, find themselves in a more complex situation than the Central European countries.

All this should not change the essential feeling of solidarity or the fact that we project this feeling into certain political actions. [end recording]

Report on Iraqi Minister's Talks in Prague

JN1012120094 Baghdad INA in English 0905 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prague, Dec. 10 (INA)—Iraq's Foreign Minister Muhammad Sa'id al-Sahhaf conferred on Friday evening with his Czech opposite number Josef Zieleniec.

The two ministers discussed, during the meeting, bilateral relations and a host of issues of common interest.

Mr. al-Sahhaf explained in detail to the Czech officials steps made by Iraq in line with the Security Council resolutions and the practical proposals and ideas necessary for implementing Para. 22 of the Resolution 687 and the lifting of the economic sanctions imposed over four years.

Mr. al-Sahhaf also urged the Czech Republic as being a Security Council non-permanent member to effectively contribute to working for implementing the reciprocal commitments by the Security Council towards Iraq.

The Czech minister expressed deep understanding of the Iraqi attitude and proposals and ideas and pledged to consult other Security Council members in this respect.

Klaus: EU Membership Main Aim of Foreign Policy

LD1012150894 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus and Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec are attending the closing phase of the EU summit in Essen in Germany. Our correspondent Jiri Halousek reports from the press center at the Essen exhibition compounds:

[Passage omitted] [Halousek] Speaking here, Klaus said that the Czech Republic perceived full EU membership as the main strategic aim of its foreign policy. We are moving very fast toward achieving the political, economic, and social system comparable with that of the EU countries. We are soon going to reach the turning point, after which the Czech Republic will be capable of coping with the tasks ensuing from EU membership—a few years before the end of this century. As Klaus went on to say, we do not expect to be exclusively on the receiving end, and we do not call for receiving more than we give. We want to participate in the European discussion that is under way as participants with full rights, not merely as outside commentators. [passage omitted]

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Coalition Agreement on Government Signed

LD1112153394 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 11 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] A coalition agreement on the forming of the new Slovak government was signed in Bratislava today by Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia; Pavol Delinga, chairman of the Farmers' Party of Slovakia; Jan Luptak, chairman of the Association of Workers of Slovakia; and Jan Slota, chairman of the Slovak National Party.

In parliament, the new government coalition has 83 deputies' mandates out of a total of 150. This is only seven votes less than the three-fifths majority necessary for pushing through constitutional changes.

Details of Agreement

LD1112183794 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 11 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the coalition agreement signed today, the Association of Workers of Slovakia will get one post of deputy prime minister, three ministerial posts, and three posts of state secretary in the new government.

The Slovak National Party will get two ministerial and two secretarial posts.

The Farmers' Party of Slovakia will get one post of state secretary.

The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia has put forward its nominees for the post of prime minister, the other two deputy prime ministers, and all other members of the cabinet, as well as state secretaries.

With regard to the organizational and political cooperation of all four parties, the agreement stipulates regular talks between party chairmen at least once a week. It is not envisaged that a coalition council will be set up. However, top-level political talks are to be held at least once a month.

The agreement cannot be abrogated and, in the event of discord between the parties to the agreement, the chairmen will hold talks to resolve it.

Meciar, Luptak, Slota Propose New Cabinet

LD1212100694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0900 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak President Michal Kovac received Prime Minister-designate Vladimir Meciar and Jan Luptak and Jan Slota, the chairmen of the coalition parties—Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] and Slovak National Party [SNS]—in the Primate Palace in Bratislava today.

Vladimir Meciar briefed Michal Kovac about the names of the cabinet nominees.

The proposal names Vladimir Meciar [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia; HZDS] as prime minister.

Katarina Tothova [HZDS] is proposed as deputy prime minister.

Sergej Kozlik [HZDS] is proposed as another deputy prime minister, at the same time in charge of the Finance Ministry.

Jozef Kalman [ZRS] is proposed as deputy prime minister.

Juraj Schenk [HZDS] is proposed as foreign minister.

Jan Sitek [SNS] is proposed as defense minister.

Eva Slavkovska [SNS] is proposed as education and science minister.

Peter Baco [HZDS] is proposed as agriculture minister.

Ivan Hudec [HZDS] is proposed as culture minister.

Jozef Zlocha [HZDS] is proposed as environment minister.

Olga Keltosova [HZDS] is proposed as minister of labor, social affairs, and family.

Lubomir Javorsky [HZDS] is proposed as health minister.

Alexander (Reves) is proposed as minister of transport, communications, and public works.

Jan Mraz is to be [as heard] a cabinet member.

Ludovit Hudek [HZDS] is proposed as interior minister.

Jozef Liscak [ZRS] is proposed as justice minister.

Peter Bisak [ZRS] is proposed as privatization minister.

Jan Ducky [HZDS] is proposed as economy minister.

ZRS Nominates Four for Coalition Government

LD1012172994 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Representatives of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, the Farmers' Party of Slovakia, the Slovak National Party, and the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] will submit the list of new cabinet members to the president on 12 December.

We hope the president will accept the list. ZRS Deputy Chairman Miroslav Kocnar said this to journalists during today's meeting of the ZRS National Council in Banska Bystrica. He added that, in the event of obstructions, the ZRS would probably reassess its opinion on relations with the president.

Kocnar also said he was prepared to end the activity of the commission for checking the Democratic Union mandates. He would do so at the third parliamentary meeting.

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The ZRS should take four posts in the coalition government. Peter Kalman has been nominated by the ZRS for the post of deputy prime minister. Peter Bisak was nominated as minister for the administration and privatization of national property, Jozef Liscak as justice minister, and Jan Mraz as a minister without portfolio.

Meciar Interviewed on Coalition Government

LD1112214194 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 11 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Four political parties are going to cooperate in the new coalition government. The new government was formed by Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], who had been authorized to do so by the president. Anna Samelova asked Meciar about positive and negative aspects of such a broad coalition government.

[Begin recording] [Meciar] The people approved of this formation in the elections. The elections dictated that an agreement should be reached. We were prepared to reach an agreement with everyone who has the goodwill to reach an agreement.

The talks have taken longer than expected, but some of that time was taken by the president. He took almost a month to choose whom he would authorize with the goverment formation. In fact, one phase of the postelection development should finish now, and we should embark on the path of conceptual development. That is the positive aspect of this government formation.

The negative side is that the parties who signed the agreements with us are viewed with doubt at home and abroad. Naturally, as a result, doubts are being cast on us as well.

Another negative aspect is that, although we are widely accepted by people, there is an interesting development, an upside-down development—namely, those who were defeated in the elections are not willing to accept the results and, under the guise of elite and external contacts, are trying to prove that, regardless of the election results, it is really they who are called to rule and decide on matters of public interest. They refuse to accept a realistically formed and reconfirmed majority. So these are the disadvantages.

[Samelova] Since you became prime minister-designate, there have been rumors in political corridors that you were forming a government without your participation in it. What is your final decision? Will you run for the post of prime minister or not?

[Meciar] I was really forming the government without my participation in it. We even made an offer to other parties that, if the HZDS was in their way, they could take part in the government without us. However, it was not acceptable, and it has not been accepted. Neither one nor the other [as heard].

At the deliberations held by the bodies of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, a conclusion was finally reached that the responsibility for the government would stay with me and that everyone would support me and help me as much as they can, however complicated the developments might be. This was decided in spite of the fact that we are aware that to risk the fall of the HZDS chairman for the third time would not be very pleasant for the HZDS.

Given the choice between myself and duty, I decided in favor of duty. If I manage to help people at least a little bit, this will make sense, regardless of the consequences this will have for me personally. So, on 6 and 7 December, my colleagues broke my resistance. Until then, I was fundamentally opposed to my participation in the government.

[Samelova] You are going to present the proposals for new cabinet members to the president tomorrow. Are you going to present them en bloc?

[Meciar] The proposal will be presented to the president as approved by the parties. Someone might criticize me because [words indistinct]. I would like to point out that a principle of delegation applies for the government. A party, a coalition party, delegates cabinet members. It is not the prime minister who makes the choice. The president has an opportunity to give his views about individuals, and he has an opportunity to assess the proposal. However, he will not be restricted in that if he does not accept one cabinet member the whole proposal would become unacceptable.

[Samelova] Mr. Chairman, the reason I asked this is that a few days ago you said that this is the first version of the government composition proposal. What is behind these words? Does it mean that you were counting on some other proposal or that after long talks you have succeeded in forming the government on the first attempt?

[Meciar] The government will begin to work in the present composition. Every government is given 100 days to prove its viability. After 100 days, we will assess the government and say what is good about it and what is negative. My coalition partners have assured me that they will assess the work of their ministers rationally and matter-of-factly, so we will wait to see what the 100 days will show us. People may like some cabinet members more and some less. We put our confidence in a number of new people who are going to be in the government for the first time. They will have to perform well not only on the ministerial level but also on the level of state secretaries, heads of departments, heads of offices. This is a complicated network of relations that must bring higher efficiency in administration than at present.

[Samelova] Does it mean that you do not envisage any other government composition?

[Meciar] No. This proposal has been adopted, and the president will assess it. It will be a pity if he has any

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serious reservations about it because this government has emerged first as a product of democratic elections. It did not emerge as a coincidental alliance. Second, this government is a result of the agreement between political parties. Third, people who have been chosen have undergone a process of democratic and free choice, the whole procedure that applies to this. The president should not put himself above this system, even less because he is not going to be responsible for what is going to take place in the government. I will be responsible for that and not the president. Hence, he should accept the choice. If times to come are hard, we will not have a chance to make excuses, saying that it is easy to be a prime minister when one works with whom one wants and not with whom the president allows him to work.

[Samelova] A shadow cabinet has been working since March 1994, when you were recalled from the post of prime minister by the National Council. Now everyone, including ministers, has a parliamentary seat. Does this mean you were looking for new experts who are not marked yet by a political past and are really experts? Or are you betting on a strong parliamentary deputies' club this time?

[Meciar] We have learned that a deputies' club makes the government stronger. If parliament is stable, the government enjoys a more stable position. That is why we have enforced our club. There are a number of new people joining the government. Some of them are old-new. But there are a number of people in the background, the second and third line. These are people who could take over some posts later on. My shadow cabinet has ceased to work. The present cabinet will take office. At the same time, I expect that, within two months, our own shadow cabinet will start working. It will act as a cabinet shadowing the one in office and will represent alternatives of political decisions.

[Samelova] So, in fact you will have your own opponent or your own shadow prime minister in your own deputies' club?

[Meciar] Yes, that is correct. I have already chosen the person. He says, though, that he still has to prepare for the job and cannot do it today. We are also preparing opponents in relation to other ministers. This would serve us as our own double-check of power and administration. Every good coach has not only the team that is pitching. He is strong only if he has a strong bench. The HZDS will be strong if it has a strong bench, strong reserve players—if they are excellent at pitching and equally good on the reserve bench. [end recording]

The journalists were interested in knowing the actual names of people who will be filling government posts. However, Prime Minister-designate Vladimir Meciar said that, with respect to the president, it would not be appropriate to publish the cabinet list in the media before he presented them to the president.

Foreign Minister in Roundtable on CSCE Summit

LD1112203394

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak at 1225 GMT on 11 December carries the 70-minute "Kroky" program. This week the roundtable discussion concentrates on the recent CSCE summit in Budapest.

The participants in the discussion are Slovak Foreign Minister Eduard Kukan; Emil Kuchar, who led the Slovak delegation at the Budapest preparatory conference on drafting documents for the summit; Dusan Slobodnik, a Slovak parliament deputy for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], who is also chairman of the parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee; and Julius Loerincz, a commentator for the Russian daily PRAVDA.

Asked what positive results the CSCE summit in Budapest achieved, Foreign Minister Kukan replies: "It is necessary to say that the conclusions and the political declaration adopted prevent a further division of Europe. What I consider positive from our point of view is that this final document gives all European states, including Slovakia, the right to choose their own security alliances. This is very topical in the current situation."

Speaking about the final document adopted at the summit, Kukan says: "This document is acceptable for Slovakia. It does not outline any new obligations that we would need to include in our legal system—for instance, protection of people who are members of ethnic minorities. I think that from our point of view this document is fully acceptable, and we will observe its stipulations."

In this context, Kuchar says: "To be honest, there is one thing we did not succeed in getting into any document, as hard as we tried: a comparative study of the life of ethnic minorities in Europe during the past 50 years. With the exception of Slovakia, the majority of states there fought very hard against starting such a thoroughgoing discussion about the minorities issue and the history of the standing of ethnic minorities."

In the next round of questions about the CSCE's failure to adopt any document on the situation in Bosnia, the participants stressed that it was impossible to reach a consensus among 52 states on this issue. They say that, if the direct participants in the conflict cannot reach a consensus, no one is capable of imposing it on them.

Commenting on the CSCE's decision to send the multinational peace force to Nagorno-Karabakh, the participants said there was political will to get Slovakia involved. However, there was the issue of financing the operation.

The last round of questions concerned the European Union summit in Essen. The participants spoke mainly about Slovakia's preparations for putting forward its official membership application.

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Moravcik Interviewed on Integration Into NATO

LD0912212494 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 9 Dec 94

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik by Milan Velecky in Bratislava; date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Velecky] Despite important events in our country, at the beginning of this week attention concentrated on events abroad. Top officials of over 50 states from all over the world—the CSCE signatories—held talks in Budapest. Mr. Prime Minister, you were not a member of the Slovak delegation there, but what do you think about the Russian president's words about a cold peace succeeding the Cold War, about Moscow's fears concerning the integration of Central European countries, including Slovakia, into NATO?

[Moravcik] As long as Russia subscribes to democracy and pursues a market economy—that is, the values on which the entire system of the European, West European, states is based—that type of fear is totally groundless.

There is no way in which our integration, or reintegration, into the West European sphere or into the European structures could be considered a threat to Russia's interests.

To get back to the sphere where we have in fact belonged throughout our history is an immensely important thing for us. This is perfectly normal.

[Velicky] [passage omitted] On 5 December, the finance ministers of the EU member states approved a proposal to grant a loan of ECU130 million to Slovakia, despite pronounced internal political developments in Slovakia at present. Do you not consider this to be a signal to us not to dramatize unnecessarily our internal problems, especially regarding our relationship with foreign countries?

[Moravcik] There is certainly no need to dramatize our internal political problems because they are very dramatic in themselves. [passage omitted]

We say and will continue to say that what is currently happening in our country is a part of a normal [word indistinct] process that is under way in all postcommunist countries. In Slovakia, this has a slightly more pronounced form. However, we continue to hope that this is only a minor episode and that Slovakia will settle its internal problems very quickly and will become a stable country as it has, in fact, seemed lately to be. [passage omitted]

[Velicky] This Sunday the representatives of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], the Peasants' Party of Slovakia [RSS], the Slovak National Party [SNS], and the Association of Workers in Slovakia [ZRS] are due to sign their agreement on the formation of the coalition government that should be introduced at the beginning of next week. It seems that we are meeting you, Mr. Moravcik, for the last time, although we naturally want to keep this broadcasting slot for the future Slovak prime minister. Mr. Prime Minister, do you expect any difficulties when handing over power to the new government?

[Moravcik] I do not expect any difficulties in any respect. All of the documents prepared by individual members of the government remain at the ministries and in the offices. Continuity is sustained by the administration that remains. This is know-how that is the property of the whole society, and therefore this know-how should be utilized carefully. To be specific, it would not be correct or favor continuity if large-scale purges took place at the ministries.

HZDS: Kovac-Parliament Relations Culminating

AU1112193794 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 6 Dec 94 pp 1-2

[Article by "zl": "President Is Bringing Relations With Parliament to a Head; From a Meeting of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia Political Board"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—At its meeting yesterday, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Political Board assessed the talks on government formation held thus far. It discussed the position of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] on the possibility of further HZDS-SDL talks on current domestic political issues and assumed a stand on the next meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR], particularly on the situation that has arisen with regard to the state budget for next year.

Members of the Political Board also assessed the activity of the provisional commission of the NRSR Mandate and Immunity Committee and voiced the assumption that the commission would carry on its activity and submit its findings to the parliamentary committee. The HZDS Political Board expressed its interest in the next NRSR meeting, including in its agenda those draft laws that had been returned by the president of the Slovak Republic. HZDS Deputy Chairman Sergej Kozlik said that the HZDS Political Board had received with concern the doubts that had been expressed about the passage of votes of no-confidence in Ministers Milan Janicina and Ladislav Pittner by parliament. According to his words, the president is thereby casting doubt on the parliament's control function, which brings relations between him and parliament to a head.

The HZDS Political Board labeled as paradoxical the present situation when the provisional government, also under pressure from the mass media, creates the fictitious impression that the government opposition is responsible for the failure of the incumbent government to submit the draft state budget to the NRSR. "We have no reason to support a draft budget that does not assume

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higher revenue than in 1994 but counts on extra expenditure of 9 billion korunas, extra expenditure that does not mobilize the economy of this country but is, in fact, to be spent on the administration of the state," Sergej Kozlik said. "According to the draft state budget, 18 billion korunas of expenditure are to be covered by the National Property Fund, which essentially threatens the sellout of our future," he stressed, adding that other areas of the economy had to be mobilized. [passage omitted]

Democratic Party Selects New Chairman

LD1012223594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Peter Osusky, until now vice president of the Medical Chamber, has been elected chairman of the Democratic Party by a clear majority of votes at the party congress in Kosice.

Another candidate for the post, Pavol Hagyari [chairman from the time of the party's formation until July 1994], who sent written apologies for his absence due to poor health, received 25 of the 115 votes.

SDL Explains Opposition to Government

LD1012221094 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The national council of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] has assessed the current political situation as follows:

[Begin Milan Ftacnik, SDL deputy chairman, recording] The national council has stated that the SDL will be in opposition to the government that is being formed now—that is, the government formed by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, the Slovak National Party, and the Association of Workers of Slovakia. At the same time, the council has not ruled out cooperation with these parties at a local level. In our resolution, we have also said that the SDL is prepared for dialogue with everybody who is interested in resolving concrete economic and social problems and in pursuing the long-term political interests of the Slovak Republic. [passage omitted] [end recording]

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Prime Minister on Essen Summit, EU Application

LD1012233794 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 2000 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] On the second day of the EU [European Union] summit in Essen, the 15 member states' delegations were joined by the delegations of the six associate countries, including Hungary. Our reporter asked Prime Minister Gyula Horn about the results of the talks:

[Begin Horn recording] I am satisfied, for the EU has made decisions on very important issues. And I would like to add that we were justified here in jointly noting that with this, the process of joining has become practically irreversible. Naturally, a long time will elapse before we become full members, and this will depend on both sides, both on Hungary and on the other associate countries—that is, on how and at what kind of tempo we can develop the market economy, how we manage to consolidate the financial, the economic situation, and how we can fulfill other conditions. And another thing on which it depends naturally is something I myself also stressed this morning at the summit, namely, that there is definitely a need for the support—moreover the many-layered support—of the EU. In all events, I consider this invitation and participation to have been a serious step forward. [end recording]

Interim Results of Local Elections Given

LD1112232894 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 2230 GMT 11 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Dear viewers, the precise time is 2321 [2221 GMT]. We can no doubt get some kind of roundup from the Interior Ministry's Duna Palace, where I call on Andras Bardos:

[Begin recording] [Bardos] [passage omitted] The votes cast for mayors and for the county councils will be processed in full, 100 percent, between 0200-0300. [passage omitted]

[Zoltan Toth, head of national election center, identified by caption] [Passage omitted] First of all the mayors: At the present moment, 80 percent of the mayors elected are Independents. Most of the mayors belonging to parties belong to the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]; this is about 4.5 percent of all mayors. They are followed by the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], with 2.1 percent of the winners, followed by Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ], with nearly 2 percent, then the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP], and the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], with about 1 percent. [passage omitted] At present there are 1,274 Independent mayors. [passage omitted]

The second round of figures relates to the mandates obtained in the metropolitan and county councils. This relates to all the county councils, not just one—but these are not yet final results—they represent 60 percent of the results. More than 30 percent of the council mandates have been gained by the HSP; 15 percent by the SZDSZ, 9 percent by FIDESZ, FKGP nearly 8 percent, KDNP 6 per cent, MDF 4.5 percent, and the Workers' Party 2.5 percent. [passage omitted]

The third round of data has been drawn up on the basis of the results of the local district council elections. Here, too, nearly 60 percent of the results have been processed. The HSP has 33 percent of mandates; the Independent candidates 16 percent, FIDESZ nearly 10 percent, SZDSZ nearly 8 percent, and after this the FKGP and the KDNP have 1 and 2 percent respectively. [end recording]

Surjan Views Party's Role in Opposition

AU1212092394 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 3 Dec 94 p 7

[Interview with Laszlo Surjan, chairman of the Christian Democratic People's Party, by Sandor Faggyas; place and date not given: "Civic Party Alliance: There Is Another Solution—Laszlo Surjan on the KDNP's Role, Cooperation of Opposition Parties, and Faulty Economic Policy"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Faggyas] What are your views on your party's current place and role in society? When will the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] again be the second strongest party?

[Surjan] To answer the second part of the question first: I trust in the foreseeable future. [passage omitted]

Bringing the four opposition parliamentary parties together on the basis of mutual respect and equal partnership has been the KDNP's most important goal and task since the elections.

[Faggyas] Does this mean that the KDNP wishes to fulfill an integrative role among the center-right parties? Many people believe that your party is the most suitable one to do this, the reason being that, in the past years, the KDNP has been one of the most consistent parties in politics, while it was open in all directions and willing to cooperate.

[Surjan] The truth of this statement is spectacularly and, in my view, clearly proved by our party's continuous renewal—among others, its average age becoming younger—and the fact that the Christian Democrats have set the largest number of joint candidates with other parties for the local government elections. In this sense, we are indeed fulfilling an integrative role and we have successfully implemented social cooperation in the past few weeks. However, this does not at all mean that we are striving for a dominant role among the civic opposition parties.

[Faggyas] Does this mean that none of the conservative parties are dominant and these parties will not unite either?

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[Surjan] Forming a union is not timely at the moment in Hungary, although West Europe examples show that where the political center right is divided, they have less chance of getting into a governmental position, while in those countries where united or unified Christian democratic and conservative parties operate—among others in Germany, Austria, now even in Holland, and traditionally in Great Britain—they are main actors in the parliamentary rotation system. In Hungary, the time has come for close cooperation, rather than union. At the moment, all four civic parties—that are getting closer to each other but are not at all uniform—are striving to markedly display their own image and values; if we coordinate and harmonize these within a political alliance, then we can expect a much higher social support than if we force a union. We should appreciate each other's special qualities that are different from the other, and try to club these together. In my view, this is also in the electors' interest because our joint candidates, who often enjoy the support of three or even four parties make the choice easier for them, at the same time, the joint representation gives an opportunity, a good chance for the Christian democratic and conservative political value system and political will to be expressed and asserted in the local governments—namely in the everyday life of citizens—in proportion to its real social support.

[Faggyas] In your view, what is really at stake at the local government elections to be held on 11 December?

[Surjan] What is at stake is whether the two governing parties and the faulty economic policy that they are implementing, which disappoints and depresses society, will also gain dominance in the local governments or whether the alternative economic and social policy offered by the civic alliance will become dominant. We do not agree with overemphasizing the communal interests or with the state's far too big role in the economy and in income redistribution, which usually characterize social democratic governments. However, we consider the so-called classical liberal economic policy even more harmful and dangerous, a policy that advocates the sanctity of individual freedom and private property, and that implements an unrestrained "capitalism of free competition" and drastic monetary restriction at the same time. The biggest danger is posed for Hungary and for economic transformation by the fact that, as well as by the smaller government party, this extreme uncontrolled capitalist economic policy is also represented by the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], which enjoys a 54 percent parliamentary support, which defines itself as a European social democratic party, and which aspires to membership in the Socialist International. [passage omitted]

[Faggyas] Certain views emerge from time to time suggesting that it might be more expedient for the KDNP to try to convince the MSZP to implement an economic policy change [advocated by the opposition parties] from within, rather than from the sidelines....

[Surjan] I would like to repeat clearly that the KDNP wishes to work together with the conservative parties in the future, too, at the same time, we are open to all parties that truly serve the uplifting of the nation. However, the idea, or concern—mainly suggested by the upper circles of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]—that the KDNP would like to occupy the SZDSZ's place next to the MSZP is ridiculous. We are constantly questioning the MSZP about the social democratic political principles and responsibility because the MSZP was entrusted by the electors to implement its own, rather than the SZDSZ's, program. A country can hardly be called democratic if the interest and will of an 18-percent minority prevail in governing, in the economy's transformation, financial policy, mass communications, and in cultural and intellectual life. We, Christian Democrats, would like to change the mistaken direction of economic policy, rather than the members of the government. As an opposition party, we do not have much chance of achieving this, however, if our mayor and deputy candidates who were jointly set with our allies receive enough social support and authorization at the local government elections, then we could improve the flawed governmental policy in many areas, make the burdens of the population bearable, and we could keep the hope for development and prosperity alive.

Metal Workers To Hold Warning Strike 13 Dec

LD0912214694 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Diosgyor metal workers want to go on strike. Gyongyi B. Nagy reports on the congress of the Metal Workers' Trade Union.

[Nagy] A warning strike will be held next Tuesday between 1000 and 1200 in the Diosgyor high-alloy steel works, Jozsef Agotai, chairman of the Diosgyoer Iron and Steel Works [DIMAG] trade union association, said at the 32d metal workers congress. However, he added that if they fail to come to an agreement with the government even after the strike, they will halt production in Diosgyor not only for a few hours but for a longer time. The trade union leader pointed out that due to a government decision in February aimed at changing the structure in metallurgy, 2,500 people's jobs are in jeopardy. [passage omitted]

VOSZ Elects Chairman, Devolves Authority

LD1012232694 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] At today's annual general meeting of the National Association of Entrepreneurs [VOSZ], Janos Palotas [cochairman, formerly chairman] was elected the new chairman of VOSZ. Karoly Levai reports:

[Levai] The meeting decided on VOSZ's radical transformation because lately there has been a significant deterioration in the organization's interest—asserting activity, causing many to leave VOSZ. The essence of the

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change is that, contrary to what has gone before—when decisions were taken at the center, in the presidium—now they will be setting up county organizations having independent legal entity and a large degree of autonomy. Every one of these local organizations will be represented in the national presidium. This will mean at the same time that the presidium will also be reelected and its numbers increased. The tasks of the body—which is to have 31 members in place of the earlier 18—will be coordination and the assertion of interests nationwide. From the two candidates, the meeting elected Janos Palotas the new chairman of VOSZ.

Security Experts Call for New Defense Structure

AU1212121394 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Dec 94 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Army Against Organized Crime?—New Defense Structure"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the latest NATO strategic concept, the challenges and risks currently affecting the security of Central European countries greatly differ from the dangers known in the past. A group of Hungarian security policy researchers came to the conclusion that, in the future, our soldiers should rather be trained to deal with the flow of refugees, a halt in the supply of energy from abroad, or the struggle against crime, rather than with defending the country from a combined military attack. Retired General Tibor Koszegvari informed us of this.

The well-known military expert pointed out that, according to the NATO position, the danger of a simultaneous military attack on the European fronts no longer exists. The risk of a surprise attack has decreased especially in Central Europe. The risks affecting the security of Europe today are different in nature and direction, and this makes it difficult to recognize and deal with them. These risks mostly originate from a lack of stability and severe economic, social, and political difficulties, including national minority and territorial debates.

According to Tibor Koszegvari, in addition to these challenges, we should not forget that Hungary's geostrategic position has changed considerably. New neighbors appeared in the wake of the abolition of the Warsaw Pact. All this culminated with the Yugoslav crisis, which has affected Hungary with the frequent border and airspace violations and the massive flow of refugees. Dealing with the challenges originating from the Yugoslav crisis required new methods of activity on the part of the Hungarian Armed Forces.

The special situation of Hungary's energy supply must also be regarded as a factor that affects our stability—Tibor Koszegvari said. It is well known that Hungary receives some 50 percent of its energy needs (electric power, oil, and natural gas) from abroad, mainly from Ukraine and Russia. Therefore, our supply of energy is vulnerable, because the pipelines can be shut down or easily destroyed. The fact that we also receive the fuel rods for our nuclear power plant in Paks from abroad further increases our energy supply problems. A halt in the supply of this fuel would hinder the supply of our population with energy. Therefore, both with resources and training, our army should prepare to provide a temporary energy supply to the most vulnerable points in case of a stoppage in the flow of energy, like hospitals, children's institutions, etc.

Hungary's internal stability is increasingly affected by international organized crime and the activity of various mafias and drug-smuggling and human-smuggling gangs. It is too early to tell when the police and border police will reach the limit of their ability to perform. In that case, the deployment of military forces will be needed—Tibor Koszegvari declared. He added that there are numerous examples of this in various parts of the world, like Columbia, Italy, or some of the post-Soviet countries.

According to Koszegvary, taking all this into consideration, we should reorganize the size, structure, equipment, and training of the Hungarian Army in accordance with the new challenges. However, this cannot be carried out on the basis of subjective assumption and decades-old customs and traditions. It is essential to make a realistic evaluation and a thorough analysis of the challenges and threats.

Ukrainian Delegation's Budapest Visit Evaluated

95CH0022A Uzhhorod KARPATI IGAZ SZO in Hungarian 6 Oct 94 p 1

[Interview with Mihaly Toth, member of the Ukrainian Supreme Council's Human Rights Committee and chairman of its Subcommittee on Minority Affairs, by Elemer Koszeghy; place and date not given: "Ukrainian-Hungarian Relations on a Higher Level"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *We already reported that an official Ukrainian parliamentary delegation, headed by Speaker Oleksandr Moroz, visited Budapest for the first time, on the invitation of the Hungarian National Assembly's speaker. The large delegation included Mihaly Toth, chairman of the subcommittee on minority affairs, of the Supreme National Council's human rights committee.*

[Koszeghy] What was the purpose of this visit?

[Toth] The most important purpose of the visit was to establish regular relations between the two parliaments. This purpose has essentially been fulfilled: The two sides approved a joint communiqui on their cooperation. The mentioned agreement gives the two legislative bodies a framework for the exchange of information on legislative experience, mechanisms and methods.

[Koszeghy] What were the topics of discussion?

[Toth] We held a series of talks, on a very tight schedule. Since the visit was an official one, the delegation was received on the highest possible level. Besides Speaker Zoltan Gal, we held talks also with President Arpad

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Goncz, Prime Minister Gyula Horn, and Interior Minister Gabor Kuncze. At the Economic Ministry, we were received by State Secretary Imre Dunai; and at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by State Secretary Istvan Szent-Ivanyi. To some extent, this already suggests what topics were discussed. There were separate talks with Hungarian businessmen—for instance, with Ikarus executives, among others. And t' ere were separate talks also on the supply of pharmaceuticals.

[Koszeghy] Which were the topics that concerned specifically Subcarpathia [Transcarpathia]?

[Toth] Two issues were raised practically at every level. One concerned the border—namely, cross-border traffic, and the problem of the border-crossing points' infrastructure, including the physical state of the [Csap-(Chop)-Zahony] Tisza bridge. The other main issue was the situation of the ethnic Hungarian minority in Subcarpathia. Members of the two delegations also exchanged views regarding a free-trade zone. Oleksandr Moroz, for example, said that he favored gradualism—the piecemeal establishment of free-trade zones. The Beregszasz [Berehove] Hospital was likewise discussed as a joint task awaiting solution.

[Koszeghy] And what are the practical results?

[Toth] I see the most important result is that, from the viewpoint of political parties as well as professionally, the Ukrainian Supreme Council has gained very useful information about the situation in Hungary, about Hungary itself and the relations between the two countries. The visit has clearly raised Hungarian-Ukrainian relations to a qualitatively higher level. The most important in this relationship is that the issues elaborated and partially approved by the previous legislative bodies now be reopened, in order to make further progress on them possible.

Program of Ethnic Hungarian Foundations Described

95CH0030B Bratislava UJ SZO in Hungarian 11 Oct 94 p 5

[Interview with Karoly Toth, a member of the Sala and Environs Special-Purpose Foundation's board of trustees; place and date not given: "Two Foundations, One Goal"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *In several towns of south Slovakia there are institutions—primarily educational and cultural ones—affiliated with the network of the Rakoczi Federation's Foundation in Hungary. In midsummer, a foundation within this network was established also in Vagsellye [Sala]; it is called the Vagsellye and Environs Special-Purpose Foundation. We interviewed Karoly Toth, a member of the foundation's board of trustees, about the circumstances under which the foundation was established, and about its purpose and activity.*

[Toth] Jozsef Halzl, the Rakoczi Federation's chairman, asked us to establish a foundation also in Vagsellye. We did so in mid-June. Since the Galanta and Environs Special-Purpose Foundation already existed in Galanta, we decided to split the district in two, and to locate in Vagsellye the new foundation that would serve the district's other half. Our plan was to draw into this foundation all the institutions, organizations and political parties that are functioning in Vagsellye or its environs, and are attempting to aid the development of culture. With Jozsef Halzl's participation, we held the foundation's organization meeting, at which we elected a seven-member board of trustees to function as the partner of the board of the Rakoczi Federation's Foundation. This seven-member body has authority to decide what accounts the special-purpose foundation should budget for and attempt to fund. We believe that we should not rely solely on the Rakoczi Federation's rather limited resources. Therefore, we decided to establish, parallel with the Vagsellye and Environs Special-Purpose Foundation, an officially registered foundation whose internal structure, statutes, rules of operation and procedure, and officers were identical with those of the special-purpose foundation. In practice this foundation will be the partner institution of the Rakoczi Federation's Foundation. This institution will be called the Janos Feketehazy Foundation, and its registration with the district office is already in progress. A native of Vagsellye, Janos Feketehazy was an architect of world renown in the late 19th and early 20th centuries who had studied under Eiffel. He designed the steel frameworks of the Eastern Railroad Terminal, the Szabadsag [originally the Ferenc Jozsef] Bridge and other famous buildings in Budapest, as well as of several railroad bridges. The foundation's plans include the restoration of Feketehazy's tomb in Vagsellye, and the installation of a memorial plaque on the house in which he had been born. Unfortunately, there is only a Slovak memorial plaque for Feketehazy in the village.

We prepared the foundation's annual budget and determined the accounts from which the various forms of activity will be sponsored. For instance, one account will serve to help village schools establish relations with educational institutions in Hungary or elsewhere. The schools will be able to apply to the foundation for the necessary grants. Another account will provide grants to applicants, to cover the rent of premises leased for cultural programs; in other words, the foundation will be paying from this account the rent for such premises. Another account will finance the purchases of technical equipment. The main goal of both the Vagsellye and Environs Special-Purpose Foundation and the Janos Feketehazy Foundation is the cultural development of towns and villages, regardless of party affiliation, religion and, in part, of nationality as well. The special-purpose foundation's establishment has contributed to a large extent also to cooperation among political parties during the past six months: The efforts to coordinate the work of all three ethnic Hungarian parties have been successful. After all, the development of culture is a common cause.

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Pawlak Leaves for Closing Ceremony at Essen

LD1012094494 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0831 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Warsaw, 10th December—On Saturday morning, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak left from the Warsaw Okecie airport for the German city of Essen. He will take part in the closing ceremony of the Europen Union summit. [passage omitted]

Olechowski Returns From Summit

LD1112195794 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 11 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The process of integration of the Central and East European states with the Western European Union will be linked to the need to reach a political consensus in individual countries and to the more animated support for integration processes from their peoples. It is a process that is only just starting, Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski said after his return from the summit in Essen.

[Begin Olechowski recording] The process, which will extend the European Union to Central Europe, will be very difficult and will require a high political road, a more animated discussion and political debate in all countries, and the rallying of public support in all of those countries. During this process, gestures like a meeting of 21 heads of government, of the leaders of the states, who will send signals to their people that this process is starting and will continue, are important. Time will bring us closer together. It is simply an element of this road. The meeting has set in motion—and this is bringing us closer together—a premembership strategy, a program for joint action in order to bring Central Europe into the European Union.

From now on, prime ministers and various ministers, at various stages in their terms in office, will meet in order to initiate the framework of cooperation that ultimately will lead to a situation when there will be just one council of ministers. [end recording]

When asked his opinion on the still tough position of Russia, which is opposed to extending NATO and other West European structures to Central and East European, Minister Andrzej Olechowski said:

[Begin Olechowski recording] It seems to me that this issue has provided much to think about, primarily for the Russians themselves—the fact that Russia's position in Budapest was so obviously and strikingly different from the position adopted by other countries. This fact should make Russian politicians and diplomats think that such a position is one that cannot lead to anything constructive. [end recording]

Cooperation Agreement Signed With Iran

LD1012115794 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1030 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] A memorandum of understanding for economic, industrial, and commercial cooperation was signed between our country's commerce minister and his Polish counterpart in Warsaw today. According to a Central News Unit report, the memorandum of understanding emphasizes the expansion of bilateral economic cooperation as well as the establishment of a balance in the commercial exchanges.

The memorandum of understanding was signed at the final session of the sixth joint economic and technical cooperation between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Poland.

German Minorities To Meet With FRG President

MM0912121894 Opole NOWA TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 5 Dec 94 p 3

[Article by "GOR": "No-Details Talks: Minority Group Visits German President"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today in Bonn the German President Roman Herzog will meet with representatives of the German minority in Poland. It will be the first such high-ranking visit with the head of the German state.

Previously, the minority met the president, or the German chancellor, exclusively on the occasion of other visits. This time, 12 persons have gone to Bonn: the entire parliamentary group and the presidium of the Union of German Social and Cultural Associations. In addition, the delegation also includes two minority representatives from Opole and Szczecin Voivodships.

"The invitation came from President Herzog himself," Henryk Kroll, German minority leader in the Opole Silesia told NOWA TRYBUNA OPOLSKA, "and we were very pleased to receive it. Of course, at such a level you do not, on the whole, discuss any details, so the talks will be rather in the nature of an exchange of formal courtesies. We have a whole hour set aside for the visit, and I believe that this should be quite sufficient to acquaint the German president with our situation in Poland. We want to acquaint him briefly with our work in parliament. We intend to touch on the question of legislative regulations, the constitutional provision, and the minorities act. We will also talk about an anniversary that is of great importance to us—that is, the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II. We want to participate actively in the celebration of that anniversary. In this way, we will be closing the chapter entitled 'The Past' and opening one entitled 'The Future.' We will request support for our ambition to play the role of a bridging platform between Poland and Germany. We do not know yet what the president will be interested in and what he will ask us about. Consequently, we can only

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hypothesize about the details of the talks we will be having today. From what we know, President Herzog prepares himself quite scrupulously for meetings of this kind. We attach great expectations to this visit."

As we have discovered, German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel will also take part in today's talks. We have not been able to ascertain the nature of the official gift the German minority in Poland will be taking to Bonn to present to the German president. It will most probably be some small decorative object associated symbolically with Silesia.

Mounting Tension Between Coalition, President

WS0912130994 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Dec 94 p 2

[Article by Ewa K. Czaczkowska: "Coalition Before Meeting With President; Tension Builds"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Unless the president is willing to make some concessions, we will try to give him as few opportunities as possible to do things that would result in the destruction of the state and the democratic system," said Senate Speaker Adam Struzik in yesterday's Radio "Zet" broadcast. According to the speaker, the president and his aides may look upon the possibility of dissolving the parliament as a "remedy that would help them be recognized by public opinion" during the presidential campaign. Before the meeting with the president, which will probably be held on 15 December, the coalition politicians seem to speak different languages: The language of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] seems to be more conciliatory, whereas the language of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], as presented by Struzik, is rather firm. Off the record, representatives of both parties are wondering what pretext the president might use to dissolve the parliament.

"The president will not dissolve us because we will not allow him to do so, unless the president wants to disband us. However, there is a difference between a legal dissolution and disbanding," stresses SLD Spokesman Zbigniew Siemiatkowski, who recalls that the constitutional deadline for passing next year's budget is not so close—4 February. (If the coalition fails to meet it, the parliament may be dissolved.) "By that time we will pass the budget at least three times."

The coalition really seems to be determined not to give the president a pretext for dissolving the parliament. The second and the third reading of the budget will probably be held as early as this month. The frequent warnings that the president gave to the coalition, as well as the warning expressed a few days ago by Minister Lech Falandysz [at the President's Chancellery], who said that the coalition "should not tamper with the Defense Ministry" because this may bring about tragic consequences, have had their effect. Even though the SLD spokesman stresses that Longin Pastusiak continues to be his grouping's candidate for the head of the National Defense Ministry, there are opinions that the coalition would be ready to give up Pastusiak if Lech Walesa decided not to veto the budget. If the president accepts the coalition's invitation, agreement on this issue may be reached on 15 December. According to Aleksander Kwasniewski, "the experience acquired during direct talks with the president suggests that there is a possibility for reaching a wise compromise." The SLD expects that, during the meeting, both sides will specify "what is the source of the misunderstandings and what should be done so that the president and the coalition, who are responsible for the situation in Poland, will accept some schedule that would help the economy and resolve social problems."

PSL politicians are counting on an agreement with the president as well. However, the peasants are more worried: "If the president has such an attitude toward the parliament and if we make some mistake, the dissolution of the parliament becomes a very real possibility," they say. Also, the prime minister, "looking at Falandysz," does not rule out the possibility that the president's goal is to dissolve the parliament. A few days ago, the PSL leaders told the chairpersons of their voivodship organizations: "If worse comes to worst, get ready for new parliamentary elections." The peasants explain that, even though the president cannot legally do this, he has often balanced on the edge of the law and it went unpunished.

"If, regardless of the pretexts, the president dissolved the parliament, it would be Lech Walesa's greatest deception, first because of the democratic slogans he supports, and second because such a step would empty the pockets of the people because dissolution of the parliament is very costly," Deputy Jerzy Pistelok argues.

"The president is not strong enough to disband the parliament. One needs real strength to do that," Siemiatkowski says.

The statement by Senate Speaker Adam Struzik for Radio "Zet" suggests that, if the coalition does not reach an agreement with the president, it will amend the Small Constitution and weaken the president's prerogatives. Lech Walesa already heard this threat during the conflict over the post of deputy prime minister; at that time he heard it from the SLD, and now he is hearing it from the PSL. Two laws might be changed: The president might be deprived of the possibility of influencing changes in ministerial posts, and the two-thirds qualified majority limit, needed right now to override presidential vetoes, might be lowered.

Zbigniew Siemiatkowski would not comment on the statement by Speaker Struzik. He merely recalled: The SLD is bound by the agreement reached at a meeting between the party's club and the president.

At that time, Lech Walesa agreed to sign the nomination of the left's candidate for deputy prime minister—in return for the SLD's promise to give up the plan to amend the Constitution. The peasants admit that various options are being discussed in their club. However, amending the Constitution would be very difficult and

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dangerous. The president would certainly veto the amendment; then, under the pretext that his rights are being limited, he would dissolve the parliament.

"If Lech Walesa's most important goal is to dissolve the parliament, no concessions on the part of the coalition can prevent this. The president can even reach an agreement, and, after a week, he will return to his previous tactics," says Janusz Piechocinski, who believes that the president has not yet decided whether to dissolve the parliament. "He is making his next moves, unrelated to one another; he is testing reactions, which will form the basis for his next moves. However, he has not yet worked out a general strategy."

Walesa Accepts Coalition Invitation

WS1212122994 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12 Dec 94 p 3

[Article by "an" and "knysz": "Summit"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The president wants to talk with the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] coalition. He accepted an invitation extended by Kwasniewski and Pawlak while still in Japan.*

"I presume Prime Minister Pawlak will now call the president," the president's spokesman, Leszek Spalinski, told us on Sunday.

Mr. President, Do Not Veto

The coalition wants a truce to last until the presidential elections in the fall of 1995. Pawlak and Kwasniewski will appeal to the president to not veto any bills, at least not any pertaining to the economy.

Walesa has already vetoed the tax bill. He is also targeting the bill on the public sector. He has already given Solidarity a promise to do so, hoping to secure more votes. If he vetoed the budget bill as well, the coalition might not recover from the blow.

In exchange, the PSL and the SLD want to back out on the issue of the head of the Defense Ministry. Sejm Speaker Oleksy already confessed to as much on Friday. In addition, Pawlak, not having sent Pastusiak's nomination to the Belweder yet, is sending a signal that he will not defend him at all costs.

Spokesman Spalinski voiced satisfaction over the fact that the coalition has "softened up."

"Until recently, they said they would not give up on Pastusiak. But negotiations are out of the question," says Spalinski. "I do not understand how they can offer us something that is ours, not theirs. What good people they are! They probably forgot that they cannot appoint either a defense minister or an acting head of the Defense Ministry without the president. They want to sell something they do not own."

The spokesman does not, however, rule out serious talks on the budget: "That is a topic for discussion."

The Small Constitution and the President

The coalition wants to appeal to the president to be responsible. They threaten that, if no agreement is reached, things may get out of control. This time no one would benefit. "It seems there are certain boundaries beyond which one begins losing points. I wish everyone who believes that anything goes in politics would take that into consideration," Prime Minister Pawlak told journalists on Saturday, commenting on the fact that the president sent the tax bill to the Constitutional Tribunal.

If no agreement is reached, the desperate coalition politicians may consider the possibility of prohibiting the president from vetoing economic bills or decreasing the two-thirds majority required to override a veto to a simple majority.

This would require amending the Small Constitution, and the coalition is too weak to do this on its own. It remains unknown whether the Union of Labor or the Freedom Union would lend their support.

Cameras Present or Not

The coalition wants to meet with the president, but it does not believe that agreement is possible. SLD politicians are convinced that Walesa will do everything he can to dissolve the current parliament. "The president hopes that we will be so involved in the parliamentary campaign that we will not have enough strength to go through with the presidential elections. All the candidates that count will arrive at the finish line exhausted, and a relaxed Walesa will be waiting for them," predicts Zbigniew Siemiatkowski (SLD).

He claims the president is playing a very dangerous game: He clearly wishes to convince the nation that the parliamentary system is outdated and that the only way out of the crisis is through the strong rule of an individual, meaning Walesa himself.

"If the president wants to meet behind closed doors, it means he wants to talk. If he wishes to meet in the presence of cameras, he wants conflict," believes Siemiatkowski.

Meanwhile, our interlocutors at the Belweder claim that the president wants a public meeting so as to avoid any accusations that he is "plotting with the Reds."

Opposition to Pawlak To Emerge Within PSL

WS0912141594 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 7 Dec 94 p 5

[Article by Wojciech Zaluska: "Courtiers and Democrats in the PSL"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Will a faction form within the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]? "The phrasing of the question is wrong," one of Waldemar Pawlak's critics tells us. "It is not a question of if, but when."

Oppositionists are debating in the Sejm corridors and waiting for "the right moment." They call the prime

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minister an autocrat. "The PSL is governed by Pawlak and his oligarchy," says our interlocutor. "If anyone is outside the court, he has nothing to say."

The court is made up of the secretaries of state and advisers: Michal Strak, Franciszek Mleczko, Leslaw Podkanski... They meet at the Office of the Council of Ministers, where decisions are made. Members of parliament are cut off from information and have no influence on policies. They are thus frustrated. "Voters believe that because we are 'in power,' we know everything. They ask us about the government policies, and we do not have much to say," complains a PSL deputy.

Away From the Court

Our informer estimates the power of the opposition at 30 to 40 deputies. He calls them "democrats" because they want more democracy in the PSL. He names the leaders: Piotr Chojnacki, Roman Jagielinski, Jan Komornicki, and Janusz Piechocinski. Among them are "old activists," once very influential, today sidetracked. There are also the "young and able," discriminated against by Pawlak, who is afraid of them as rivals. They are all bonded by their frustration, but not only. Away from the "court," one sees its flaws more clearly.

List of Mistakes

They speak of them willingly. They voice the same accusations against Pawlak as against the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]—lack of an information policy and provoking conflicts within the coalition, allowing for the dismissal of Borowski and Kolodziejczyk, as well as refusing to approve Smolarek's dismissal, and suspicious dealings with InterAms II and an "old pal network" policy.

"This will not end well," warns one of the deputies. He does not exclude the possibility that the coalition could fall apart and the PSL might lose the elections. "The prime minister, not controlled by anyone, continues to make mistake after mistake. The oligarchy guaranteed us success, but its powers have expired. Over the past half-year, the PSL has been losing popularity more quickly than the SLD."

Pawlak or Many Leaders

Pawlak can still say today that "the PSL is me." The opposition does not like that. It warns of the "Olszewski effect." The former prime minister was also ranked quite highly, but only for a short time. His popularity sharply declined, as did that of the Movement for the Republic.

The democrats are afraid history might repeat itself. "If Pawlak humiliates himself, he will pull the whole party down with him (like a stone)," says one of them, who goes on to draw two conclusions. First, that the future of the PSL cannot depend on the success (or failure) of just one individual. Second, that many leaders must be promoted. The opposition is already doing that. They are presenting the party with Deputy Speaker Jozef Zych as a candidate for president.

Three Methods of Dealing With the Prime Minister

The "democrats" do not want to overthrow Pawlak. The PSL owes too much to him. All the opposition wants is to limit the sweeping powers of the prime minister. It has three methods for doing that. First, it wants a provision on separating legislative and executive powers to be included in the new constitution. This would force Pawlak to resign as head of the PSL club and give the parliament members more autonomy. They could thus control the government more effectively.

Second, the opposition demands that state functions preclude party functions. The restriction is not to be binding for Pawlak, but only for his ministers. Even this would do. If Michal Strak and Leslaw Podkanski were to leave the top PSL organs, the position of the "court" would considerably weaken.

The third and last "tool" for exerting pressure on Pawlak is to be the forming of a faction.

Quick or Slow

It is still not known when it will form. Some (for example, Piechocinski) want to wait until the party congress scheduled for next year. They say they will form a faction if the "congress hall" supports them. If not, they will wait.

Others (such as Jagielinski) advise hurrying. "It is no use counting on support from the congress. The regions will not back us. They are happy with the top officials; they do not see the dangers. They will understand the opposition only when the coalition falls apart and Pawlak humiliates himself. By then it will be too late," says the advocate of haste. He claims that, "in a party such as the PSL," the opposition must be elite.

The Regions Will Not Support Them

Several "professional" politicians oppose Pawlak. The regions call them "the Warsaw clique" and do not share their pessimism. "People in the countryside are still very proud of their prime minister. They think just as deputies did several years ago. They do not see a catastrophe coming," says a PSL member of parliament, who adds: "The cases of Smolarek, Kolodziejczyk, Borowski, and InterArms do not interest the countryside much. If anything makes the farmers angry, it is the slow growth of the standard of living. That 1 kg of livestock costs 26,000 zlotys [Z] instead of Z32,000, and a quintal of rye costs Z170,000, not Z240,000."

Our interlocutor does not believe the regions will lend support: "After all, we will not fulfill their economic demands."

From Left or From Right

The left-wing opposition would stand greater chances with the regions. The one that is forming within the Sejm wants to attack Pawlak "from the right"—for instance, for blocking reforms. "The farmer's success does depend solely on state subsidies," Jagielinski explains. "We need

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a market for our produce. Our market is in the city. That is why the PSL cannot turn its back on it. It must continue reforms of industry, privatize, and attract foreign investors."

According to the opposition, Pawlak is not doing that. He has transformed the PSL into a class party and secluded it in the countryside. He is repressing changes, although he could accelerate them by living in harmony with the SLD.

Trenches of the Holy Trinity

"You cannot see it from the outside, but there are two conflicting trends within the PSL," says another peasant party member. "One of them reflects the fears of our constituency, instigates fears of the free market, privatization, and competitiveness. It resorts to monopolies and interventionism. It is encircling the countryside with trenches of the Holy Trinity and wants the PSL to defend them. This trend is currently predominant. Its typical representative is Bogdan Pek. And Pawlak often supports it because a huge part of the peasant constituency thinks like Pek."

Open to the World

The opposition claims to represent the second trend. "The PSL should be the party that opens the countryside to the world, teaches entrepreneurship and free market," claims Piechocinski. "If we begin to dig trenches, we will die defending them the moment Poland integrates into Europe. We will be completely unprepared. In confrontation with the West, the Polish economy will resemble a biker who runs into a truck," he adds.

We have heard proreform declarations from other "democrats" as well. We must take their word for it. During crucial economic debates thus far, they have remained rather inactive.

Poll Shows Support for Prime Minister Pawlak

LD1012220694 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1830 GMT 10 Dec 94

[From the "Wiadomosci" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] It transpires from a poll by the Public Opinion Research Center [OBOP] carried out for the "Wiadomosci" program that Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak has 5 percent more supporters than opponents. Support for the prime minister is falling, above all among nonmanual employees and the intelligentsia. On the other hand, he has the unchanged support of almost two-thirds of the inhabitants of the countryside, and also a significant proportion of workers.

[Unidentified correspondent] The prime minister is supported, above all, by farmers; two-thirds of them feel that Pawlak is fulfilling his obligations well. The prime minister is highly regarded by half of workers and also pensioners and annuity-holders. Forty-four percent of Poles feel that Pawlak is a good prime minister. Thirty-nine percent of those polled by the OBOP disagree. Almost two-thirds of the intelligentsia feel Pawlak to be a bad prime minister. Among private entrepreneurs and students, the prime minister has as many supporters as opponents. In October, the prime minister was still supported by over half of Poles. Later, over a period of a month, he lost the support of 7 percent of Poles, mainly from the intelligentsia. In the view of sociologists, this was decided by the dispute over pay in the budgetary sphere and also by the accusations of the press.

[Tomasz Zukowski, OBOP] This is also an issue related to various events that are being treated as scandals—the InterAms issue and other issues raised recently by the press. It seems that these have clearly damaged the prime minister, especially among the intelligentsia and nonmanual employees.

[Announcer] Thirty-nine percent of Poles support the economic policy of the government of Waldemar Pawlak, 40 percent are opposed.

[Zukowski] It would transpire from this that the slogan "The economy first of all" does not necessarily deliver the goods. That is, politicians are, or can be, judged more highly than the policies they foster.

[Correspondent] In the view of sociologists, the prime minister can still count on a fixed body of support. Thanks to this, he has, after a year in office, better popularity ratings than his predecesors. Above all, the Polish countryside continues to regard Waldemar Pawlak as its prime minister and supports him.

Poll Reveals Freedom Union Gaining Support

WS1212131594 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10-11 Dec 94 p 2

[Article by Renata Wrobel: "Election Preferences—PBS for RZECZPOSPOLITA; Freedom Union Riding Crest of Wave"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The party that really has reason to be satisfied with the results of our November poll of election preferences is the Freedom Union [UW]. From July to November, its rating has been slowly but surely improving. We can certainly say this was not accidental.

The strongest party is still the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], even though its position has weakened over the last quarter. If parliamentary elections were an exact reflection of the results of the poll, there would be seven parties in the Sejm, including the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], which may seem quite surprising if we take into account the last steps taken by the grouping. The right would still not have its deputies in the Sejm. The poll was carried out for RZECZPOSPOLITA by the Sopot Public Opinion Research Institute [PBS].

Leaders and Candidates

Recipients of opinion polls resemble sports fans: They want to know the result, the position, the record holder, etc. However, in a situation in which the political scene

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is still split into small groupings and voters' views change quite often, the results of the various parties should be interpreted very cautiously. Statements that some party "will certainly achieve some result" or that it "will definitely not find itself in the parliament" entail a high error risk. Nevertheless, some trends are worth noting.

- The SLD maintains the leading position among the Polish political groupings. Sometimes, as toward the end of the summer, every fourth voter wants to support the SLD. Sometimes, as in the spring or in November, the party receives support from a little more than every fifth voter. At any rate, the left still has an edge over its competitors.
- For a few months now, since the unification of the Democratic Union and the Liberal-Democratic Congress, UW has been waiting for its old supporters and possibly its new voters to approve of it. It looks as though it has finally achieved what it wanted. The most recent research of public opinion shows that the ranks of UW supporters are increasing—they increased from 12 percent in July to 17 percent in November.
- The Labor Union [UP] and Solidarity ["S"] have had the most stable position in opinion polls in recent months. Early this year, "S" received support that would have been insufficient for it to enter the Sejm. What changed the situation of "S" for the better was primarily the campaign to prepare the civic draft constitution and to collect signatures under it. In September, "S" was supported by 11 percent. In the following months, support was at the 9-percent level.
- The Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR] is balancing on the border of 5-percent support—also after statements by former BBWR leader Zbigniew Religa that he intended to set up a new party.
- The position of the right wing is still unstable. One of the rightist coalitions, the Covenant for Poland (consisting of such parties as the Center Accord—PC, and the Christian-National Union—ZChN) was supported by 7 percent of the respondents to an October opinion poll. In November, it shrank again to 3 percent. This is partly due to the instability of the rightist alliances and to public disputes that are still going on among rightist groupings.

The Mysterious Voter

The Polish voter is still a mysterious character. Here is one example: KPN activists are quarreling with each other, the party is said to be losing its members, and press commentators are saying that the KPN is slowly leaving the political scene. In spite of all this, our research shows that this grouping has for the second time met the 5-percent requirement that is necessary for a political party to find itself in the Sejm.

There may be several reasons for that. The simplest is called a "statistical error." The error in an average poll is about 3 percent (depending on the sample, the manner in which the research is conducted, and the quality of the center that carries out the research, the error may be a little smaller or greater than that; in our research it may reach 2.5 percent). It is easy to calculate, then, that, in many cases, 5-percent support may mean in fact either 2 percent or 8 percent.

Figures are partially verified if they reappear in subsequent polls. A sudden very good or very poor result does not have to mean much. However, if a party receives 2 or 3 percent support regularly for a couple of months, it is difficult to suppose that there are many more "real" supporters, unless respondents conceal their support for parties that are not generally accepted, which happened in the past in the case of the X Party and the SLD, for instance. It seems, however, that this happens increasingly less often today.

There may also be other reasons. In Poland, we often witness the phenomenon of electorate transfers—for example, from the KPN to other parties, such as rightist ones. More than every third respondent who voted for the PC in September of last year would now vote for the KPN. Similar declarations are made by every sixth voter of the former "Fatherland" coalition (mainly the ZChN) as well as by every 10th supporter of the former Liberal-Democratic Congress. At the same time, quite a few former KPN sympathizers began supporting the governing coalition or the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] "S." History shows that, in Poland, such movements can change direction at any moment.

Election Preferences (Strongest Parties)

	Oct 94	Nov 94
	Percent	
SLD	23	21
UW	16	17
Polish Peasant Party	16	17
NSZZ "S"	9	9
UP	9	9
KPN	6	7
BBWR	4	5

* * *

The poll was carried out for our daily by Sopot PBS between 10 and 20 November on a 1,030-person sample representative of the adult population of Poland. The statistical error is plus or minus 2.5 percent.

Tax Bill Passed to Tribunal at Walesa's Request

WS0912150394 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 Dec 94 p 1

[Article by Agnieszka Kublik and Waldemar Kumor: "Taxes at the Tribunal"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Lech Walesa called from Japan yesterday, asking his officers to submit the tax bill to the*

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Constitutional Tribunal. If the Tribunal does not issue a verdict by the end of this year, and this is highly probable, we will pay lower taxes in 1995.

Before departing for Japan, Walesa announced that, if the Sejm rejected his veto, he would fight to lower taxes: "We are seeking legal possibilities for me to appeal to the Tribunal. Perhaps this will be a pretext that will allow us to prevent the nation from suffering additional harm."

Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Grzegorz Kolodko made assurances that the president had no legal grounds for appealing against the bill. He thought he would be able to dissuade Walesa from doing so during their joint trip to Japan.

As we have learned unofficially, however, the president called his chancellery, giving orders to direct the bill to the Tribunal. The appeal should reach it today, at the latest.

"Kolodko clearly has weak persuasive powers," Democratic Left Alliance Spokesman Zbigniew Siemiatkowski commented on Walesa's decision.

Professor Andrzej Zoll, head of the Tribunal, told us yesterday that the Tribunal will begin proceedings on the tax bill without any delay, as soon as it receives the appeal.

Still, legal procedures do not allow for immediate consideration of the matter. If the Tribunal fails to reach a verdict by the end of this year, the old tax rates of 20, 30, and 40 percent would automatically come into effect in 1995.

[Deputy] Prime Minister Kolodko has already approved those rates in a decree on new tax thresholds, as the tax law obliged him to do by the end of November. He did, however, express his hope at the time that he would reverse that decision and sign one with the higher tax rates.

If the Tribunal states that the bill does not violate the Constitution in the new year, Walesa might not sign it. He could quote earlier statements issued by the Tribunal that changes in the tax law carried out during the fiscal year violate the Constitution. This would also mean lower taxes.

As we learned yesterday from one of the deputy finance ministers, the deputy prime minister is seriously considering the possibility of implementing the higher tax rate bill without the president's signature. It is impossible to do so without violating the law. Therefore, our interlocutor claims Kolodko is ready to stand before the State Tribunal.

Prof. Zoll says that only a bill bearing the president's signature is effective. Otherwise, such a decision could be immediately brought before the Tribunal on the grounds of "violation of the implementation procedure."

We asked the Belweder secretary of state, Lech Falandysz, what he thought of Kolodko's idea: "Well, 'Falandization' of law is an art that takes time to master. Not everyone knows how to do it."

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Iliescu Views EU Summit, Praises German Role

AU1212093394 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] President Ion Iliescu, who returned yesterday evening from his visit to Germany, where he attended the Essen EU [European Union] summit conference, termed the first meeting held by the leaders of the twelve states with those of associate Central and East European countries an important political success achieved by the EU in handling the six states equally.

The conference concluded with the adoption of a document representing a platform for the furthering of bilateral activities between each country and the EU with a view to putting the integration process into practice. For Romania this process calls for elaborating a national strategy and taking concrete measures to adapt Romania's legislation to EU legislation, as well as implementing economic, industrial, agricultural, and infrastructure policies meeting EU standards.

Speaking of bilateral Romanian-German relations, President Iliescu noted that Romania's invitation to the summit was due to Germany's substantial contribution, as that country wished to conclude its EU chairmanship period with such a political moment. He also interpreted his meeting with President Roman Herzog as a political signal indicating the interest of Germany's leadership in strengthening and furthering bilateral relations, also reflected by the increase in economic exchanges, which have exceeded the highest level achieved before the 1989 revolution. This was reconfirmed once again during President Iliescu's visit, by the desire of several powerful German companies to assert themselves on the Romanian market.

In a statement made to our correspondent, President Roman Herzog mentioned that he might visit Romania.

Ethnic Hungarian Senator on Draft Education Law

95CH0031A Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 15-16 Oct 94 pp 1, 8

[Interview with Senator Lajos Magyari, educational specialist of the group of senators belonging to the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania, by Istvan Zsehranszky; place and date not given: "Old Centralism Revisited; All Decisions in the Hands of Education Minister"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Senator Lajos Magyari is in charge of educational issues in the Senate group of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ]. He faces difficult days when the draft of the education law is to be brought before the public together with the minority education law initiative that is to complement or correct it. Our questions do not find him unprepared.*

[Zsehranszky] What is the current status of the draft education law, and what are its prospects?

[Magyari] At the moment the draft is before the standing Senate committee on education and scientific research, and it has been being debated since the last days of August. We have been discussing the variant of the draft that was already passed by the house, and a great number of amendment proposals were put on the agenda. Part of these were passed by the education committee, i.e., they will be brought before the public as its own proposals. In general, I would characterize this draft by saying that it does not improve the situation of education in Romania at all, and it does not promote the modernization of the educational system. It is just as rigid and ungenerous as the other laws the Romanian parliament is currently passing. I do not see any steps in the direction of any kind of reform. On the contrary: This draft presents a step backward, even compared to the current situation. It aims to restrain any autonomy of educational institutions, of the system of educational institutions; and to foster a brazenly centralistic view. It puts every right and every opportunity to make decisions in the hands of the minister of education, and disputes the right of the community of educators to determine its own fate and to assert its wishes—in personal matters, but also in the development of alternative possibilities for the educational system. Only the education minister has the right to appoint people; there is no election; the self-building of communities that to a certain degree was possible after 1989 will become impossible.

[Zsehranszky] And which, let me add, has historical antecedents in Transylvania. The old colleges elected their teachers themselves, and the bishop or the state at most only nodded at their choice.

[Magyari] Although the proposal devotes an entire little chapter to the autonomy of universities, that, in itself, is just an illusion, because it only concerns certain formalities; and, in our case, it is an even more serious issue that, in secondary schools, local initiatives and local wishes are completely eliminated. Everything is decided by state organs, and this is true down to the system of nursery schools.

[Zsehranszky] Is this the prospect, then?

[Magyari] At the moment, yes. It is extraordinarily, vitally important for us not to have the system of education in minority languages impaired. And I do not see any guarantee for that based on the draft of the law. The variant passed by the house governs our fate in such a way that it completely ignores our wishes. A new element is the law initiative that was signed by almost 500,000 Hungarian and non-Hungarian citizens of Romania. This initiative attempts to guarantee a unified and complete system of minority education.

[Zsehranszky] In our opinion, the success of this initiative would be beneficial not only to the Hungarians in Romania, but also to other minorities—for instance, to the Gypsies.

[Magyari] If there is a demand, let the Gypsies also have their own educational system. It has frequently been

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proven that the integration of Gypsies becomes impossible not because they keep to themselves but because, mixed with the majority population, they develop an inferiority complex; and, obviously, because of their underprivileged position, many of them drop out of the unified system of education. They might perhaps stay in a system of their own.

[Zsehranszky] In the schools the majority pulls them up, but at the same time looks down on them.... Incidentally, this is what happens to Hungarian children as well, when they go to a Romanian school. They are never forgiven for their origin.... But how did the above-mentioned minority educational law initiative fare? The Senate was willing to receive it and it was even assigned a file number, but this does not mean anything yet. Who is dealing with it at the moment?

[Magyari] Following the legal regulations, the chief secretariat of the Senate handed the initiative over to the Constitutional Court which will examine the legality of the circumstances of the initiative and the authenticity of the signatures. It should get back to us soon so that it can be put on the agenda in time, before the discussion of the general education law.

[Zsehranszky] The Constitutional Court could spend a decade looking over and inspecting the initiative, if they want to be very thorough....

[Magyari] Then we will not be able to discuss it in a relevant fashion.

Because the fate of the Hungarian educational system in Romania is a matter of life and death for us, we will return to the issue of these two drafts every week. Thus, the conversation with Lajos Magyari is to be continued.

Ethnic Group Appeals to Romanian Public

LD1012231694 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 2000 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] On the eve of [anniversary of] the December 1989 Romanian turnabout, the council of the representatives of the HDUR [Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania] has addressed an appeal to the public of Romania and all of Europe:

[Unidentified correspondent] In the appeal he drafted Bela Marko, chairman of the HDUR, points out that the [ethnic] Hungarians [magyarsag] of Romania have been doubly disappointed in their hopes of five years ago. In addition to the absence of true democracy and development of the Romanian domestic situation, the Hungarian minority is also afflicted by the fact that, in place of the vanished Communist ideology, nationalism, chauvinism, xenophobia, and the idea of the nation-state are forging ahead —the statement warns.

At its session today, the council of the representatives of the HDUR also decided that the 4th HDUR Congress will be held in Kolozsvar [Cluj-Napoca] 26-28 May 1995.

Report Gives Details of Testing of Reactor

AU0912174594 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 7 Dec 94 p 5

[Report by Ioana Burada and Matei Dumitru: "The Uranium for the Cernavoda Power Plant Is To Arrive in the Country"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On Thursday 1 December, at Reactor No. 1 of the Cernavoda nuclear power plant, they concluded the operational testing of the reactor's primary circuit [circuitul primar]—which is a complex test, as it involves the switching on of 71 of the technological systems under circumstances identical to those existing during normal operations. Practically speaking, they filled the primary circuit with light water [apa usoara], which was pumped through the system by main pumps of the primary circuit. What they tested was the resistance of the equipment to extremely strong forces of friction. We learned from RENEL [Romanian Electric Power Authority] that they intend to render Unit 1 operational in April. On 23 December of this year the nuclear fuel—five metric tons of uranium dioxide (UO2)—will arrive in the Black Sea port of Constanta. That fuel will become radioactive only after the reactor is operational: that is, only after the fuel is bombarded with neutrons. Up to that point, the UO2 is not radioactive. A much smaller quantity of UO2 has been, and is being, used experimentally at Mioveni. The yearly feeding of the reactor with fuel—that is: UO2—will be done automatically, without having to shut the reactor down.

The heavy water used in the first stage is produced by the ROMAG company of Turnu Severin, whereas in a subsequent stage it will be imported from Canada.

UDMR President Calls for Transylvanian Autonomy

AU1212105794 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] During their two-day meeting in Cluj- Napoca the council of UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] representatives debated, on the basis of the reports presented by Bela Marko, leader and president of the UDMR, and Csaba Takacs, executive chairman of the UDMR, the entire array of issues regarding the expression of the identity of ethnic Hungarians within the general evolution of Romanian society.

Our correspondent Teodor Mateescu cites Zoltan Dezsi, chairman of the council of UDMR representatives, who stated that they had tried to achieve a consensus—despite the various political and ideological platforms that have appeared lately within the UDMR—to get the UDMR's relations with other parties in the Romanian political spectrum to take a positive course.

Our correspondent also reports that the meeting concluded with the adoption of an appeal calling for the

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erection of democracy and a free, peaceful, and righteous life, as well as a declaration with respect to an alleged blacklist mentioned on 2 December in Vienna by the leadership of the Austrian counterespionage service, with the latter drawing attention to the intent—attributed to the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI]—to physically eliminate several prominent UDMR public figures [Bishop Laszlo Tokes, honorary chairman of the UDMR, and Adam Katona, leader of the Hungarian Initiative in Transylvania group]. The declaration of the council of representatives calls the SRI a political police and authorizes the UDMR parliamentary factions to initiate procedures to clear up the matter of the blacklist.

A report broadcast last night by the BBC says that the UDMR appeal also summarizes that party's activity over its five years of existence; assesses that nationalism has reached high levels, in Romania; and that, quote, from the garbage bin of history, the idea of the national state has emerged and proceeds on its trail, unquote. The UDMR expresses its dissatisfaction over the process of solving the ethnic Hungarians' problems by various European bodies, such as the Council of Europe, the European Union, and the CSCE, which is too slow and lacks vigor; and it reiterates the ethnic Hungarians' right, quote, to freely and autonomously decide over its own fate, under fully equal terms with the majority nation, unquote.

Today's issue of the daily ADEVARUL reports that at the Cluj meeting, UDMR Chairman Bela Marko supported the achievement of regional autonomy and the introduction of the Hungarian language as the official language in the regions that are to become autonomous.

Resita Rally Continues; Vacaroiu Promises Visit

AU1012204394 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In line with his promise, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu will be in Caras Severin County 14-16 December—reads a communique signed by Viorel Hrebenciuc, general secretary of the government, which we received from the government a short while ago. So far, we have not received any reaction from Resita to this announcement regarding the date of the premier's arrival in Resita. The protesters announced yesterday that they are going to resume the rally because they are dissatisfied with the way the government and those in power have treated the situation in Resita, and the proposed solutions.

The organizers of the protest action held in the square in front of the Resita prefect's office estimate the number of participants in the rally at over 7,000 people, who continue their action under a torrential rain. Mr. Dumitru Costin, president of the National Trade Union Bloc, wanted to tell our correspondent Doru Dinu Glavan about some ideas the public should know about, quote, the rally that entered its fifth day has not had, and still does not have, a political character. The request for the prime minister come to Resita was not a spontaneous one made on Tuesday 6 December, the first day of the protest rally. It is the consequence of the promises made at the end of last month and not fulfilled until the end of November, as was stipulated in writing in the promise of premier Nicolae Vacaroiu's presence in Resita, unquote.

Mr. Dumitru Costin also mentioned that the trade unions have thoroughly examined the situation in Resita and assess it as a regional social crisis that stems from the fact that the two major industrial commercial companies—that is, the Machine-Building Enterprise and the Metallurgical Combine—have had a diminished activity, with repercussions on the employees' incomes. This minimum income leads to the halting of activity in a great part of the commercial sectors of transportation and services, and all these have led to an unbearable deterioration of employees' daily lives. In this way, the employees and the trade unions to which they belong reached a situation where they asked the government to examine the crisis thoroughly. This is the reason for the protest rally, said Mr. Dumitru Costin in conclusion.

Further, the protesters unanimously requested that the prime minister come to Resita, because they will continue their action until their goal is reached.

The Machine-Building branch of the Cluj Trade Unions affiliated to the Infratirea Federation and the Cluj County Branch of the National Trade Union Block today sent a solidarity message to the protesters in Resita. In a communique they sent to our editorial office today, it is stated that the action of the Resita trade union members, as well as the need for the arrival of the prime minister in Resita as quickly as possible, are considered justified.

On behalf of the PUNR [National Romanian Unity Party], Mr. Gheorghe Funar affirms—in a declaration that we also received today—that the most of the protesters' claims are legitimate, that they should be quickly solved, and that the PUNR will give the necessary support to Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu and the government team that went to Resita to urgently solve the complex problems prevailing.

After noting that the heavy heritage in Resita is mainly the effect of the actions of national economic destabilization during the [Petre] Roman and [Theodor] Stolojan governments, the president of PUNR, on behalf of this political group, calls on the protesting employees to not allow their justified actions to be turned into a political action, quote, and thus play the game of those who are determined to destabilize the economic, political, and social life in December every year in order to perturb the Christmas and New Years' Eve holidays, unquote.

We also inform our listeners that our correspondent Titus Stoichitoiu reported a few minutes ago that the conflict situation at Lupoaia mine has been solved through the resignations of the director and the chief accountant of this coal mining unit in the Motru Valley.

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Minister Assesses Situation

AU1012204494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In an interview granted our radio station this morning, Mr. Dumitru Popescu, minister of industries, made some comments on the situation in Resita. He stated that the impasse in which the Machine-Building Enterprise finds itself is due to the difficult transition period in the general process of transition to a market economy.

The minister said: Before 1989, the Resita Machine-Building Enterprise was engaged in export programs that involved 35 percent of its production. Today this activity has been reduced to 6 percent, the cause being the lack of the financial capacity to commission deliveries of complex facilities abroad. In this respect, Popescu further noted that the minister of industries and the minister of finance worked out a draft law in which they suggested to the government that it resume the activity of delivery in the case of complex facilities such as refineries, cement factories, and hydroelectric-power plants. As far as the activity of the commission that went to Resita is concerned, Popescu said the team is seeking immediate solutions that will be submitted to Premier Vacaroiu. These solutions will ensure that Resita workers have adequate orders in Romania and abroad in 1995.

Unions Issue Threat

AU0912142694 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] At this time in the central square in Resita, over 15,000 protesters are continuing their rally in the fourth day of that labor conflict. During the morning hours today, the representatives of the Siderurgistul Trade Union of the town of Hunedoara have also returned there. This trade union has over 14,000 members.

On behalf of the Rovinari coal miners, union leader Marin Condescu has also arrived in Resita with a message of solidarity from those workers. A short while ago numerous representatives of the Timisoara Alliance of Trade Unions, a member of the West Romanian Trade Union Confederation, have also joined the Resita rally. Aurel Mihut, leader of the latter organization, told our reporters that numerous representatives of industrial and commercial companies of the city of Timisoara City and the country of Timis are currently in Resita's central square.

Today, during the morning, the organizers of the Resita protest action—namely, the county branches of the National Trade Union Bloc [BNS] and the Alfa Cartel—handed over three communiques to our correspondent for broadcasting.

The first communique is addressed to the presidential institution and continues to call for the presence of Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu in Resita between 11-13 December 1994, pointing out that if no satisfactory answer is officially forthcoming before 1300 today, the trade unions will stop ensuring order in the Resita central square as of 1400 today, and will consider that the entire responsibility for how events later unfold lies with President Ion Iliescu, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, and Caras-Severin County Prefect Traian Zamfir.

The second communique is addressed to the Romanian Government and Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu. It points out that, owing to the lack of interest displayed by the prime minister with respect to the difficult situation in Resita, the participants in the rally have unanimously expressed their determination to continue the protest action. The communique also calls for the prime minister to announce before 1300 today the precise date he will arrive in Resita. The document also says that this is a protest action by all Caras-Severin County trade unions, and was caused by the fall to under the minimum level of the living standard of the entire population of that county, where the average monthly income of the citizens is currently 34,151 lei.

The third communique—which, like the previous ones, is also signed by the leaders of the BNS and Alfa Cartel county branches—is addressed to all parliamentary political parties, briefing them on the current situation in Resita; and it calls upon them to express their official positions on government policy. The document asks them to express their position in Parliament, as the grave situation in Resita is threatening to spread imminently to other counties as well.

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Intensified Serb Attacks Near Bihac Reported

LD1112195494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Dec 94

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Serb-Montenegrin aggressors, led by Martic's and Karadzic's chetniks, today continued their barbaric attacks on Bihac and its environs. The early evening has brought intensified attacks on residential areas and civilian facilities in the town centre, as well as on the suburbs of Zegar, Vedro Polje, Izacic, Klokot, Gata, and Bugar, where hundreds of artillery and tank missiles have landed. The chetniks attempted to breach the defense lines on the outskirts of the town on at least 20 occasions in this period of time.

The chetniks used Gamma helicopters and even tried to carry out an airborne landing operation in their assaults on the defense lines on the left bank of the Una River in the Bosanska Krupa sector of the front. At least 1,000 missiles were fired at the defense lines in this sector and on already devastated residential districts.

The chetniks are continuing their attacks and constantly bringing in reinforcements in the Velika Kladusa sector, so the war criminal Fikret Abdic could make good on his promise that he would finally enter Velika Kladusa tomorrow. However, this objective is still a distant dream. This was also one of the reasons for today's Chetnik attacks in the Buzim sector, on the Grmusa-Srbljani plateau and on the Grabez front. [passage omitted]

Press Center on Bihac Fighting

LD1112193494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The army press center reports that the joint aggressor from the occupied territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, reinforced by Fikret Abdic's paramilitary formations, is continuing to launch extremely heavy artillery and infantry attacks on the lines of the 5th Corps defenders and on residential areas in Bihac, Cazin, Velika Kladusa, and Bosanska Krupa. On the Bihac battlefield the heaviest attacks are raging in the Grmusa-Srbljani plateau and along the defense lines between Debeljaca and Debeli Luk and the villages of Izacic and Trzacka Rastela.

From the occupied areas of Croatia the aggressor has fired over 3,000 shells from all kinds of artillery pieces on our positions in the Bihac area. In addition to the infantry attacks, launched in waves, the aggressor has also used a Gamma helicopter on the Grmusa-Srbljani plateau. It fired Malyutka missiles.

Artillery and infantry operations have continued on the Velika Kladusa frontline. The town itself and the village of Trn are still coming under the heaviest fire. Although the aggressor is using large forces and massive equipment, our defenders have successfully repelled all the attacks, knocking out one T-55 tank. The aggressor's tanks, mortars, and anti-aircraft guns have been targeting our positions on the right bank of the Una and in the area of Alanaja, Vucjak, Stara Govedarica, and Lipik and villages on the right bank.

The main target of the enemy's attack is still Cojluk Hill where an aggressor helicopter fired at our positions. In the course of the fighting the aggressor has suffered considerable losses. An estimated eight aggressors have been killed while about 20 soldiers have been wounded. In the Bugari area two aggressor tanks have been destroyed and another has been damaged. In the area of Ubanovo Brdo one tank has been destroyed and another damaged, the Press Center of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina reports.

Croats, Muslims Attack Serbian Defense Lines

LD1112210594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1925 GMT 11 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—Croatian forces from the Orasje area and Muslim units south of Brcko launched a strong artillery attack against Srpska republic army defense lines today, the press center of Brcko said this evening. [passage omitted]

According to the Serb forces' command in Bileca, sporadic Muslim attacks were registered in several sectors of the Herzegovina front today. Most of the attacks were directed against the Glavaticevo area near Konjic, which also came under sporadic mortar attacks.

Forces of the Republic of Croatia, arriving from the direction of Dubrovnik and Slano, have been massing again in the occupied parts of the Trebinje municipality, so that fresh attacks are possible.

Serbs Check Muslim Attack in Zvornik Area

LD1112174494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1731 GMT 11 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zvornik, Dec. 11 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serbs checked Sunday afternoon a strong Muslim artillery-infantry attack in the area of Zvornik, east Bosnia. A Bosnian Serb forces local command said the confrontation line remained unchanged.

Muslim forces started the attack Sunday morning with artillery fire from the direction of the villages of Sapne and Vitnice, about 20 km northwest of Zvornik. The command said the Muslim artillery attack on the Serb villages of Malesic, Petkovci and Boskovici lasted several hours. The Muslims also fired 100 mm caliber tank shells on the broader area of the village of Kozluk, about 15 km north of Zvornik, and from the direction of Vitnice mounted an infantry attack. The Sarajevo Muslim government forces ceased attacks around 4 p.m. (1500 UTC), the command said.

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The Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA reported that the Muslim forces on Sunday morning continued artillery and infantry attacks on the Bosnian Serb positions on Mt Majevica, northeastern Bosnia. SRNA said there were no stronger clashes with the Muslim forces in the region of Herzegovina.

Serbs Claim 9 Villages Lost to Croat Forces

LD1112233594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2229 GMT 11 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosansko Grahovo, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—Croatian soldiers have initially plundered and later razed to the ground eight of the nine Serb villages on the foothills of Mount Dinara—Caprazlije, Provo, Gubin, Sajkovici, Celebici, Bojmunte, Radenovci and a part of Vrbice [Serb villages in southwestern Bosnia], it has been learned from Serb military sources.

The remaining ninth Serb village in this area—Bogdesa—was destroyed in artillery attacks over the last 12 days of the Croatian aggression against the Srpska republic.

Tudjman's soldiers from Sinj, Omis and Split, disguised in Herceg-Bosna HVO [Croatian Defense Council] uniforms, were responsible for most of the barbarity in the Serb villages of the Bosansko Grahovo municipality.

It is estimated that 3,000 heads of cattle have been taken away from the eight plundered Serb villages.

Serbs Threaten Counterattack

LD0912173594 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Dusan Kozic, prime minister of the Srpska republic, has warned of a strong Serb counteroffensive if Croatian Army and HVO [Croat Defense Council] units do not end their open aggression against the Glamoc, Grahovo, and Kupres municipalities. The result would be a situation similar to the one in the Bihac area, Kozic said in a statement for the Serb radio and television, and he added that once they regroup and consolidate their ranks, Serb fighters could easily reach the gates of Makarska.

Commenting on the silence on the part of the international players regarding the aggression of the Croatian Republic Army against the western borders of the Srpska republic, Kozic said it was the consequence of their pro-Croatian and pro-Muslim approach to conflicts in former Bosnia-Herzegovina which, in his words, should no longer surprise anyone.

Serbs Open Sarajevo 'Checkpoints' to Aid Convoys

AU0912171994 Paris AFP in English 1648 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 9 (AFP)—The Bosnian Serbs lifted all so-called checkpoints around Sarajevo Friday, allowing through convoys both from the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), officials said.

UNPROFOR Bosnia spokesman Major Herve Gourmelon said the three main Serb checkpoints around the city had reopened. One of them controls the airport road, a UN-controlled neutral zone which leads to all parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina under Bosnian Serb control, another is an access route to central Bosnia, while the third is on the road south to Croatia.

UNPROFOR immediately asked for permission to send in several convoys of foodstuffs and fuel Saturday and Sunday. Customarily, UNPROFOR convoys do not move on Fridays and Mondays. Naval Lieutenant Myriam Sochacki, an UNPROFOR spokeswoman for the Sarajevo sector, said: "Over the weekend we will be able to test the Serbs' new position." Fuel reserves for the 5,000 UN peacekeepers in Sarajevo will reach critical levels Monday, Sochacki said.

The UNHCR plans to send an aid convoy to the Bosnian capital Monday, UNHCR spokesman Kris Janowski said.

Since an airlift was started in July 1992, the Bosnian capital has got most of its food that way. The city needs 200 tonnes of food a day, the equivalent of 20 trucks, to feed its 380,000 inhabitants. The airlift was last suspended on November 19.

Janowski said normal supplies to the residents would run out Tuesday or Wednesday, but said he did not expect any dramatic worsening of the food situation at once. "The situation will get worse gradually. Over time the situation will get tough," he said.

The long-term closure of the airport would force UN relief agencies to redeploy their resources to feed the city and create a "logistical nightmare," Janowski said.

Without the regular airlift into Sarajevo, food would have to be brought overland from the Adriatic coast, taking the road north from Metkovic, inside Croatia, through Mostar and into Sarajevo from the west, passing at least one Serb checkpoint along the way.

The airlift of food provided by the World Food Programme at present operates out of Ancona in Italy, Split in Croatia, Frankfurt in Germany and occasionally the Croatian capital Zagreb.

In the event of a forced redeployment, food would be routed to Split and probably by sea to Ploce, on the Croatian coast, with Metkovic becoming the main base for operations.

"We'd have to shuffle the pieces of the operation. It would be workable but create a logistical nightmare and provide the Serbs with many more opportunities for harassment," Janowski said. "The effect would be to reduce Sarajevo to the situation of Gorazde," the eastern

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Bosnian enclave which has become little more than a refugee camp under the Bosnian Serb siege. "We'd still be dependent on Serb consent," Janowski noted.

Serb and UN negotiators have been deadlocked for days on the reopening of Sarajevo airport, with UN officials seeking Serb guarantees on the security of incoming flights, while Serbs insist they will not deactivate their missile systems unless NATO pledges not to order air-strikes against their forces.

The importance of keeping Sarajevo airport open was as much psychological as logistical, he noted, stressing the need for people to feel they still had a link with the world. Negotiations over the airport were still at a standstill, and Janowski was not optimistic that it would be opened in the immediate future.

UN Convoy Reaches Sarajevo

AU1012172594 Paris AFP in English 1640 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 10 (AFP)—A 50-truck convoy bringing 540 tonnes of urgently needed food to Sarajevo entered the city on Saturday [10 December] afternoon, UN High Commissioner for Refugees spokesman Kris Janowski said.

The convoy arrived in Sarajevo from Metkovic, near Croatia's Adriatic coast, after receiving clearance from Serb officials and passing through a Serb checkpoint to the west of the city, Janowski said.

UNHCR warehouses in the city were due to run out of supplies for normal food deliveries on Wednesday. Sarajevo's 380,000 inhabitants consume around 2,000 tonnes of food aid per week, Janowski noted.

Janowski said he had applied for clearances for food convoys for each day of next week starting Monday.

Sarajevo airport has been closed for three weeks, resulting in the running down of the UN agency's reserves. About 80 percent of food relief to Sarajevo enters normally by air.

A relief convoy was due to leave Zagreb Sunday for the Bihac enclave which on Friday received its first delivery of UNHCR relief supplies for more than two months, Janowski added.

Serbs Commandeer UN Fuel Trucks Near Sarajevo

AU1112161494 Paris AFP in English 1600 GMT 11 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 11 (AFP)—Serb forces hijacked three UN trucks waiting at a checkpoint to bring fuel into Sarajevo late Saturday [10 December], a UN source said Sunday.

Armed Serbs forced the drivers and escort bringing 30 cubic metres of petrol to leave the vehicles and took the trucks into the suburb of Ilidza, west of Sarajevo, the source said.

Two Danish UN troops with the convoy stayed with the vehicles. It was not known whether the trucks had been emptied of their contents, the source added.

Fuel Blockade Threatens UNPROFOR Operations

AU1112183994 Paris AFP in English 1809 GMT 11 Dec 94

[By Bernard Besserglik]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 11 (AFP)—Separatist Serbs threatened to bring the UN relief operation in Bosnian-Herzegovina to a halt Sunday [11 December], hijacking one fuel convoy, blocking another as UN fuel stocks began to dry up, and imposing a ban on escorts for relief convoys.

Armed Serbs hijacked three trucks waiting at a checkpoint to bring fuel into Sarajevo late Saturday, UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Jan-Dirk von Merveldt said.

The chief-of-staff of UN armed forces in Bosnia, General John-Willem Brinkman, was engaged in "on-going" talks with Serb military leaders on the hijacking, after which a UN spokesman warned the UN operation could grind to a halt Monday if fuel reserves were not immediately replenished.

However, a French convoy of nine vehicles—six fuel tankers and three escort vehicles—bringing 30 cubic metres of petrol to UN Sarajevo Sector command was still held up at the Ilidza checkpoint west of Sarajevo late Sunday, a day after it arrived, Merveldt said.

Armed Serbs blockaded a Danish convoy bringing 32 cubic metres of fuel to UNPROFOR in Sarajevo by placing cars in front of the three trucks and behind them as they approached the last checkpoint into the city.

The seven-man driver and escort team were "given to understand that they had to follow" the Serbs who placed an armed soldier in each vehicle. The hijackers were armed with Kalashnikov assault rifles and rocket-propelled grenade launchers.

After reaching a location in Ilidza, the Serb-held western suburb of Sarajevo, the seven Danish troops were ordered into cars to be taken to the UN-controlled airport, but two of them insisted on remaining with the trucks. The five others were driven to the airport, Merveldt said.

A UN source said earlier that UN officials had been able to remain in radio contact with the two men who the Serbs had said were free to stay or go as they wished.

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Merveldt said a report was received during the night that the trucks had been taken to another location where "they are probably being emptied." The process of removing the fuel would probably take two and a half days, the spokesman said, basing the estimate on a similar hijacking incident last month.

Merveldt said that in an earlier incident Saturday, Serbs held up two Dutch Mercedes vehicles at a checkpoint and removed their satellite radios. UN officials have halted the use of several categories of vehicle in Sarajevo while waiting for further fuel supplies.

In another move threatening to make the UNPROFOR mission in Bosnia impossible, Serb officials said they would no longer allow UN vehicles to escort relief convoys of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. UNHCR spokesman Kris Janowski indicated earlier that convoys would not be authorised to leave their bases in Zagreb, Belgrade and Metkovic, in southern Croatia, to bring relief to Bosnia unless they had UN escorts.

Merveldt said the Serbs had argued that the UN armoured personnel carriers escorting the convoys—used by the truck drivers as shelters in the event of incidents—would cause damage to the roads in the winter conditions. He was unsure whether the fuel blockade and escort ban were part of a deliberate campaign to obstruct the UN mission or simply "local initiatives."

In Zagreb, UN Bosnia commander Lieutenant-General Sir Michael Rose, said he would make no further attempt for the time being to enter the beseiged northwest Bosnian enclave of Bihac after a renegade Croatian Serb commander refused him passage.

A UN spokesman in the Croatian capital said Rose had been turned back by a "local military commander" despite having obtained clearance from senior military personnel in the rebel Serb "capital" of Knin.

UN, Serbs Discuss Saving Peacekeeping Effort

AU1212103694 Paris AFP in English 0924 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Dec 12 (AFP)—UN officials were fighting Monday to save the peacekeeping operation in Bosnia-Hercegovina after Serbs hijacked an urgently needed fuel convoy and slapped a ban on armoured escorts for food convoys.

Discussions were under way with Serb officials at Lukavica, in Serb-held territory south of Sarajevo, and the commander of UN forces in Bosnia, General Michael Rose, could join in the talks later, UN Protection Force spokesman Lt.-Col. Patrick Declety said.

The whereabouts of three fuel tankers bringing 32,000 litres of petrol to Sarajevo were still unknown after armed Serbs seized a Danish convoy late Sunday as it approached the last checkpoint into the city. According to a UN spokesman they were "probably being emptied," an operation likely to take more than two days. [passage omitted]

UN officials were also protesting at a Serb statement banning armoured personnel carriers from escorting food convoys of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees on the grounds that the APCs churned up the roads in winter conditions. Without the escorts, needed to ensure the security of the drivers, the convoys cannot proceed, UNHCR spokesman Kris Janowski has warned.

The Serb ban becomes effective on Tuesday. Monday is one of two agreed "no convoy" days during the week.

The sole agency which was able to function was the International Committee of the Red Cross which was "almost back to normal" apart from a greater than usual degree of difficulty with clearances, spokeswoman Lisa Jones said. ICRC convoys functioned without escorts, at its own insistance in order to maintain the perception of the Red Cross as a wholly non-political, humanitarian organisation, she said. Working as an "emergency response operation" and with a much smaller fuel requirement, the organisation had fuel reserves for several months, she said.

Butrus-Ghali: UNPROFOR To Remain in Bosnia

LD1012112094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1057 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New York, Dec. 10 (TANJUG)—United Nations Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali Friday said the U.N. Protection Force would remain in Bosnia. Butrus-Ghali said that so far no country had demanded to pull out its peacekeepers from Bosnia.

After reporting to the Security Council about the situation the hot stops [as received] throughout the world, including Bosnia, Butrus-Ghali said the United Nations and NATO were preparing for a possible pullout from Bosnia if the Bosnian Muslims are exempt from the arms embargo. The Security Council banned all arms deliveries to the entire territory of the former Yugoslavia in September 1991.

Butrus-Ghali said that U.N. member-countries should request to withdraw their peacekeepers and that so far he had not received any such request. I hope we will be able to keep the UNPROFOR in the former Yugoslavia, he said. Butrus-Ghali said UNPROFOR's withdrawal would drastically deteriorate the situation in Bosnia, especially in the humanitarian sphere.

Butrus-Ghali said the United Nations had been making contigency plans for the withdrawal of its troops from Bosnia since last June after France, Britain, Spain, Canada and some other countries threatened to pull out their troops if the arms ban was lifted.

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This is nothing new, Butrus-Ghali said. He praised the United States' offer to send in its troops to secure UNPROFOR's withdrawal, but also reiterated several times he hoped this would not be necessary.

Asked by journalists whether, if the U.N. troops pulled out, he would agree that they be replaced by troops from Islamic countries, Butrus-Ghali said such a possibility had been considered 'within several scenarios.'

Serbs Release Remaining 187 UN Detainees

LD1012112694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1107 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 10 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serbs have released the remaining 187 United Nations peacekeepers, UN official in Sarajevo Jan-Dirt Marveldt said Saturday.

The REUTER news agency said the 187 UN troops released included French soldiers who were prevented from leaving weapons collection sites they were guarding and UN military observers of various nationalities.

Bosnian Serbs had detained about 500 troops of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in Bosnia after NATO jets last month hit Serb positions in northwestern Bosnia in response to a request from UNPROFOR.

Serbs Prevent UN's Rose From Visiting Bihac

AU1012185294 Paris AFP in English 1825 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 10 (AFP)—Separatist Croatian Serb troops on Saturday [10 December] forced UN Bosnia commander Lieutenant-General Sir Michael Rose to abort a visit to the embattled Bosnian enclave of Bihac, a UN military spokesman said.

Rose was forced to return to Zagreb after being blocked at the Moscenica crossing point between Croatia proper and the Croatian Serb-controlled Krajina region which borders the northwestern Bosnian enclave.

UN Protection Force spokesman Lt.-Col. Jan-Dirk von Merveldt said: "I don't know the background but I think it's some local problem."

Rose on Visit Denial

AU1012212294 Paris AFP in English 2054 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Dec 10 (AFP)—Croatian Serb troops Saturday [10 December] forced Lieutenant-General Sir Michael Rose to abort a visit to Bihac, in a move the UN Bosnia commander denounced as a tragedy for the embattled Bosnian enclave's population.

Rose said the troops' action was a "humiliation for the (Croatian Serb) civilian authorities who gave us clearance" to cross into Serb-held Croatia. It was also a "tragedy for the people" living inside the enclave, he told journalists here.

The UN commander was forced to return to Zagreb after being blocked at the Moscenica crossing point between Croatia proper and the Croatian Serb-controlled Krajina region which borders the northwestern Bosnian enclave.

UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Lt.-Col. Jan-Dirk von Merveldt said: "I don't know the background but I think it's some local problem." Merveldt earlier said Rose had obtained written authorisation from Croatian Serb authorities to transit through their region.

The Moslem-dominated Bihac pocket, which incorporates a UN-declared "safe area", is under siege from Croatian and Bosnian Serbs and dissident Moslem leader Fikret Abdic.

Rose Gives Up Visit Attempt

AU1112150194 Paris AFP in English 0958 GMT 11 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Dec 11 (AFP)—[Passage omitted] Meanwhile UN Bosnia commander Lieutenant-General Sir Michael Rose said in Zagreb on Sunday [11 December] that he would not make a new attempt Sunday to visit the embattled Moslem pocket of Bihac in northwest Bosnia.

He was forced to abort a visit on Saturday by separatist Croatian Serbs, who turned him back at the Moscenica crossing point between Croatia proper and the Croatian Serb-controlled Krajina region bordering Bihac. "I am not going to Bihac," the British general said when he was asked whether he would make another attempt to enter the enclave.

Rose returned to UN headquarters at Zagreb after his failed mission.

The visit would have been Rose's first to the enclave since Serbs launched their offensive on Bihac last month. Rose had been expected to meet members of the Bangladeshi UN peacekeeping contingent at Coralici, in the centre of the enclave.

UNPROFOR spokesman Jan-Dirk von Merveldt said Rose had obtained written authorisation from the Croatian Serb authorities to transit their region.

Milovanovic: NATO Troops Arrival 'Hostile Act'

LD1012133494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1216 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—I am convinced that NATO will try to strengthen its positions in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina through

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UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], the chief of general staff of the Srpska republic army [VRS], Lieutenant-Colonel-General Manojlo Milovanovic, told TANJUG's correspondent.

"The threat that more than 25,000 soldiers will be dispatched is supposed to achieve precisely that. They will most probably go to the territory of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation to try to spread from there to the Srpska republic territory," he believes. "We do not yet consider UNPROFOR our enemy, but we will consider the arrival of NATO soldiers as a hostile act," General Milovanovic said.

The chief of the VRS general staff stressed that the attempts to replace UNPROFOR by NATO forces are not a recent development. "During the past six or seven operations—from Cerska to Bihac—the Muslims (the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army) have been trying to spare themselves a military defeat," he claims. "NATO's intensive attempts to interfere in the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina have been going on for more than a year, accompanied by attempts to compromise UNPROFOR by saying that it has not fulfilled its duty as a peace force."

"UNPROFOR has done nothing good for the Serbs," Milovanovic claims. "They usually come to Muslim aid at the last moment. This time we will not allow UNPROFOR to do the same maneuver."

The chief of the general staff of the Srpska republic army referred to the example of the Bihac pocket: Everyone kept quiet while the Muslims (the so-called B-H Army) were advancing, but when they started to suffer defeats, NATO's air force was called to intervene.

Speaking about the forthcoming withdrawal of UNPROFOR's Bangladeshi battalion stationed in Bihac and Ceralici near Cazin, he said it is a trick the purpose of which is to fully reconsolidate the 5th Corps of the so-called B-H Army.

"UNPROFOR's Bangladeshi battalion replaced the French, who had been supplying the so-called B-H Army with arms and ammunition and by engaging in military operations. However, UNPROFOR failed to fulfill the role the Muslim leadership had expected from it," Milovanovic said. "Apart from this they are supplying them with arms, ammunition, and fuel, and are intending to leave behind 60 armored personnel vehicles, 20 tanks, and over 40 trucks when they withdraw."

He said it is unclear to him why UNPROFOR members are withdrawing, since the VRS is not a threat to them in the Cazin region.

Judging by everything, all the technology and equipment will be a basis for reconsolidating the 5th Corps, but the VRS will not stand for it, Lieutenant-Colonel-General Manojlo Milovanovic said categorically. In his opinion, this battalion, like the Nordic one in the Tuzla area, has two to three times as many arms as it obectively needs.

General Milovanovic also said that the entire VRS strategy throughout the Srpska republic is restricted to defending the areas it is currently controlling. "Their [Muslim] attempts to seize more territory on Mt. Ozren and in Posavina have failed, but should they decide to take such steps," as in the Bihac area, "they will suffer all the consequences."

Koljevic Says Serbs Willing To Continue Talks

LD1112181094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1709 GMT 11 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Srpska republic, said today that the republic is willing to continue talks following the Contact Group's reformulated plan. He stressed the significance of a lasting cease-fire so that conditions can be created for other talks.

Taking part in "The Sign of the Times" program of Kragujevac Radio, Koljevic pointed out that it is a positive stance that the plan should be considered as a whole rather than as parts, as envisaged at an earlier stage [as received].

"The Contact Group should contact us. This is what we expect," Koljevic said, adding that this contact can be established via the UN Protection Force. He said that the Srpska republic leadership will talk over the next two or three days with Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy.

The Srpska republic vice president said that the republic's parliament will soon convene, adding that the session must be prepared well.

The session, in Koljevic's words, should be held "once detailed information and certain guarantees about the Contact Group's true innovations and proposals have been received." Commenting on the anchorman's remark that the visit of parliamentarians of the Srpska republic to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has been seen by the domestic and international public as a significant step and a turning point in resolving the crisis, Koljevic said that it is significant that this is an official group of deputies delegated by the club of parliamentary deputies, because informal contacts are not good.

"We hope this meeting will speed up the peace process as a whole," Koljevic said.

Izetbegovic Prepares For Continuation of War

LD1012151594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1459 GMT 10 Dec 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ankara, Dec. 10 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic is preparing for a continuation of the war and is asking Islamic countries for more weapons and financial aid.

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In a message to Turkish President Suleyman Demirel, which was revealed in Ankara on Saturday, Izetbegovic asked Turkey to pressure the members of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) at a forthcoming summit in Morocco to step up military aid to Bosnia. "We expect that in the future more Islamic countries will supply Bosnia with weapons, despite the United Nations arms embargo which Sarajevo views as illegal," Izetbegovic said.

Izetbegovic has only on paper accepted a peace plan for the resolution of the Bosnian crisis.

In the message to Demirel, Izetbegovic demanded that Islamic countries which have peacekeepers in Bosnia, double their troops there. He said he expected that after the summit in Morocco Islamic countries, which previously had not sent troops to Bosnia, would now do so.

Izetbegovic is attempting to create an "Islamic peacekeeping force" in Bosnia to replace French, British and other Western U.N. troops in case they pull out of Bosnia. This would be very dangerous and it is believed the United Nations will not allow it.

Turkish press Saturday quoted an interview to London's paper THE EUROPEAN By Prime Minister Tansu Ciller who said Turkey would be the last country to withdraw from Bosnia. Turkey recently said it would send additional troops to Bosnia only if it was requested to do so by the United Nations.

Ljubijankic: Muslims Want UNPROFOR To Stay

LD1012153394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1504 GMT 10 Dec 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Dec. 10 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Muslim Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic has said the Muslims want the U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] to remain in Bosnia, although it is not a guarantee of peace.

In an interview published on Saturday by the Croatian VECERNJI LIST daily, Ljubijankic said the Muslim leaders were "taking seriously" French and British warnings on a possible pull-out of their peacekeeping troops from Bosnia.

Ljubijankic said that in the case of their withdrawal, the Muslims would ask for troops to replace them. He said the Islamic countries were ready to offer 30,000 troops to replace those that might withdraw. He also said the Islamic countries should do more if they wanted to provide "adequate" assistance to the Bosnian Muslims.

Commenting proposals by the international community to demilitarize the town of Bihac, a U.N.-designated "safe area" in northwestern Bosnia, Ljubijankic said this would be "disastrous" for the Muslims.

U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali this week in a report to the Security Council has called for a complete demilitarization of "safe areas" in Bosnia, saying that the Muslims are taking advantage of these areas intended to protect civilians.

Ljubijankic said it was unlikely that the Security Council would decide to exempt the Bosnian Muslims from the arms embargo, although the United States had already done so.

"This could signal to some of our friendly countries to send us arms," Ljubijankic said, confirming thereby the Bosnian Muslims' determination to continue the Bosnian civil war.

Ljubljankic Interview

LD1112225194 Riyadh Saudi Arabian Television Network in Arabic 1830 GMT 11 Dec 94

["Exclusive interview" with Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubljankic by correspondent Nur al-Din Salih at the Croatian Embassy in Zagreb; date not given—recorded; Ljubljankic in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Arabic translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Ljubljankic] The Bosnian Government rejects any move to annex the Serb populated area of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the rump Yugoslavia. The British and French foreign ministers expressed to me their support for the stance of the government in Sarajevo.

[Salih] What is your view about the Russian stance toward the Bosnian problem, after Russia used the right of veto at the UN Security Council against a resolution that could have changed the course of events in Bosnia?

[Ljubljankic] Russia has recently stood openly by the side of the Serbs and the use of the right of veto was not the only thing, because they have sent surface-to-air missiles to the Bosnian Serbs and have rejected the final communique of the Budapest CSCE conference, which condemned the savagery of the Serbs in Bosnia.

[Salih] Do you expect the withdrawal of the UN peacekeeping forces from Bosnia?

[Ljubljankic] President Alija Izetbegovic said that the Bosnian Army is stronger now than it had been in the past, but it is confronting the hardest experiences since the outbreak of the war in Bosnia. The international community has started steps toward abandoning Bosnia. Withdrawing the UN peacekeeping forces from Bosnia is one of those steps. We do need these forces because they secure the safety of roads for humanitarian aid to reach those who need it.

[Salih] During the last days and despite their ferocious attack on Bihac, Serbs could not achieve any progress. Does this mean that the Bosnian forces have strengthened their defenses around Bihac, and does it mean that the Bosnian Army is able to continue repelling the attack

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for a longer period in case the international community fails to take decisive steps to halt the Serb aggression?

[Ljubljankic] It has been commonplace since the start of the recent aggression against Bihac for the aggression to be launched from Croatian territory occupied by Serbs, who crossed through a gap that was protected by forces of the Croatian Defense Council. Bihac is now standing fast, despite all the difficulties and despite the fact that it has been under siege for two years. During the last six months, Serbs did not allow the entry of any aid convoys to the city. Forces of the 5th Corps will, God willing, repel this aggression.

Silajdzic Requests Immediate UNHCR Aid Drops

AU0912202194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic sent a letter to UNHCR Chief Sadako Ogata today, in which he writes:

The humanitarian situation in Bihac is dramatic and is threatening to grow into a catastrophe. We no longer have time to examine alternatives. I am convinced that [words indistinct] air drops or helicopters. We ask you to make maximal efforts to begin the delivery of medical supplies and food via an air link immediately.

B-H Army: UN Concealing 'Truth' on Bihac

AU0912211694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The eye witnesses of a [word indistinct] offensive and bestial attacks on the Bihac district and other free settlements and territories within the theater of operations of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps, which are being undertaken by the aggressors from Bosnia-Herzegovina and the occupied Croatian territories with the assistance of the paramilitary formations of the traitor Fikret Abdic, are also the members of UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], who, when reporting to its command in Sarajevo, concealed the real truth about the situation and the facts of aggression on numerous occasions, thus concealing the actual situation and the truth from the public, a report by Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center says.

One such report dated 11 November this year stated that a rocket attack had been carried out on some installations in Bihac, omitting the fact that the attack had actually been carried out by an aircraft. Further, in a report on (?25 November), it was stated that the safe haven had been violated, that some (?elevations) within the protected zone had been taken, which could not be tolerated, but that the Serbs must be warned not to occupy the settlement of Sokolac and [word indistinct]. Regarding the situation of the Bihac hospital, they demanded that the UNPROFOR command for Bosnia-Herzegovina advise the Serbs about the plans for [word indistinct].

What is particularly worrying about reports by UNPROFOR officers from the Bihac region (?are formulations, such as) that the Bosnian Serbs had not visibly targeted the population of the safe haven.

Let us recall [word indistinct] conclusion that these attacks are being carried out by the so-called Srpska republic army, instead of telling the truth that these and other attacks are, beside the Srpska republic army, also being undertaken by the army of the so-called republic of Serb Krajina from the territory of another country and that a certain coordination does exist between the Bosnian Serbs and UNPROFOR in the cease-fire conditions, about which it is literary said: Recognition of the Serbs is linked to the regrouping and halting of UNPROFOR troops [word indistinct] was required earlier.

These facts clearly suggest the existence of some plans that were drawn up before the offensive to prevent the offensive on Bihac district from provoking more resolute reactions by the UN Security Council and NATO, in accordance with the authorities from the UN Resolution Number [word indistinct], as well as the existence of a coordination between the forces of [word indistinct] the united aggressors and [word indistinct] UNPROFOR. All this, nevertheless, in no way undermines the determination of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps to persist in their just and liberating struggle [word indistinct], a statement by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center says.

Bihac Mayor on Situation, Butrus-Ghali Statement

AU0912143194 Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 7 Dec 94 p 8

[Telephone interview with Bihac Mayor Hamdija Kabiljagic in Bihac by Ruediger Rossig in Bonn; date not given: "Over 1,000 Shells"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rossig] What is the situation in Bihac today?

[Kabiljagic] The aggressor is attacking along the entire front; over 1,000 shells were fired at us yesterday. They are attacking the town center as well as the suburbs and the villages on the Croatian border. This morning, the gymnasium, where refugees from the eastern part of Bihac are staying, was hit by a shell. The aggressor's troops are using dumdum bullets. The UN Protection Force could see for themselves how they hit a civilian yesterday. Today, the aggressors have increased pressure on the left bank of the Una River. The offensive is being carried out by the 49th Banja Corps from Lika in Krajina and the Bosnian Serbs Kordun Corps.

[Rossig] What are the UN troops from Bangladesh doing?

[Kabiljagic] I have spoken to the Bangladeshi troop commander, Mr. Saalem. He is frustrated and feels

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degraded. They do not have any food, medicine, or weapons. They are depending on our troops to defend them. Commander Saalem sent an ultimatum to the UN headquarters in Sarajevo and Zagreb yesterday, announcing that he would withdraw his troops within seven days if no help arrived by then. Unfortunately, Mr. Saalem cannot take part in this telephone conference, because UN guidelines do not allow this. Six of his soldiers have been wounded, and he cannot treat them because there are no medical supplies. One of the wounded soldiers has already died.

[Rossig] What do you think of UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali's proposal to demilitarize the protected zones?

[Kabiljagic] I would like to ask Mr. Ghali whether he thinks that a sovereign state that is recognized by his organization can really be asked to hand over the arms that it uses to defend its sovereignty against rebel troops.

Tuzla Plant Repairs To Reduce Electricity Supply

AU0912211594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The energy situation on the free territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina will deteriorate in the next two days. This evening, at 2200 [2100 GMT), a 50-megawatt block in Tuzla steam power plant will be put out of operation in order to repair a breakdown on a generator. It is planned that the repairs will last 48 hours and during this period distributors will receive proportionally lower quantities of energy, the public liaison office of the Bosnia-Herzegovina power industry reports.

The supply of gas to Sarajevo remains unchanged. The town is receiving minimal quantities of this energy resource that cannot even satisfy a tenth of the demand.

Milosevic Role in Peacemaking Efforts Viewed

AU0912212194 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Dec 94 p 4

[Article by Davor Gjenero: "The Acknowledgment of Milosevic's Triumph"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Milosevic is the key to the solution to the Bosnian crisis," claims Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev, traveling between Bonn and Belgrade. Suddenly, the one who started the aggression against the neighboring countries becomes peacemaker, since, allegedly, those who were merely instruments of his aggression have gotten out of control. If, on the other hand, Karadzic is actually not only Milosevic's instrument but has, against Milosevic's will, gotten out of control and started an all-out war, how could Milosevic be "the key to the solution," and how could he stop him?

It seems that the tactics of the conflicting forces are becoming clear. After all the deadlines set for the Serbs to accept the Contact Group peace plan expired on 30 June, Karadzic continued to refuse the proffered division, and Milosevic, taking the Russian advice, started to claim he accepted the peace plan and could not influence the Bosnian Serbs to give in. The West then tried to take Milosevic's word and actually mitigated the sanctions on Serbia, but also started putting political pressure on Milosevic to codify his statement by recognizing Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina within their borders. Then Croatia was signaled that it should enter a new round of negotiations on normalization of relations with Serbia, but in the negotiations between Granic and Jovanovic it became absolutely clear that for the time being nothing would come out of "Yugoslav" recognition of Croatian international borders. This was the reason Croatian foreign minister Mate Granic "gave up" on the negotiations until the Serbs show readiness to recognize Croatia within its international borders. After declaring his acceptance of the Contact Group plan, Milosevic has been acting the role of a level- headed, rational politician, ready for compromise, in order to protect his interests and the interests of his people. Naturally, the "distribution of roles" followed. If Milosevic is "rational and level-headed," then his blind followers in the occupied Croatian and Bosnian territories had to take on less prominent roles, much more "honest" and involving less acting.

Paying Off the Debt to Belgrade

The process of suspending the sanctions against Serbia was more than irritating for the victims of Serb aggression. However, it was not too naive a game for the West. Namely, everyone realized that Milosevic was only simulating conflict, but his statement that he had "nothing to do" with the Serbs in Bosnia was readily accepted, and there were attempts to make him behave accordingly. Namely, if the connections between Karadzic's bandits and Belgrade were cut off, and if, after that, Belgrade recognized Croatia and Bosnia as countries, it would be possible to curb the Bosnian Serbs and put them back into the framework of the Bosnian state.

Milosevic cunningly started to create the impression that he, at least temporarily, had given up on territorial expansion beyond the "FRY" [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] borders, and that it was enough for him to protect what was conquered by 1990, by which time he had subjected Montenegro, Kosovo, and Vojvodina. His offer to the world was very simple, entailing that his country be recognized as the successor of the former Yugoslavia, that is, the right to inherit all the property of the disintegrated federation, and he would completely renounce both Karadzic and Martic. Slovenia has already begun to appreciate what is behind this offer. Namely, Slovenia is for the time being the only country that emerged after the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia that has started to pay its foreign debt. Apart from loans the owners of which are known precisely, part of the debt was "undistributed" and the IMF made a statistical distribution of the debt. According to IMF methodology, the "undistributed debt of the former

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Yugoslavia" was also divided among business banks. In the course of 1992 Milosevic's regime was, with the help of federal currency reserves, hurriedly buying off the debt, which was worth very little at the world financial market at that moment. The banks were aware of the fact that it was going to be very difficult to collect debts from their "Yugoslav" debtors, so they were prepared to give them over to whoever would pay off even one tenth of the nominal amount. It therefore turns out that Slovenia would have to pay off "its" debt to the international business banks into the Serbian treasury, and this surprise could dawn on Croatia one day too. Milosevic craftily turned things around, and it could happen that countries—victims of the Serb aggressor, rather than demanding war damages from Serbia, are forced to help the Serbian budget.

Milosevic, however, is playing another game at the same time. It is absolutely certain that the offensive in the Bihac-Cazin Krajina was launched with his approval. In the new offensive against the Bihac pocket, which is ethnically Muslim, Karadzic is entering an area that he probably does not intend to control. Namely, the strategy of all the conquests that he has made so far anticipated the expelling of the native non-Serb population, but he cannot completely "cleanse" the Bihac pocket. Naturally, he will again agree to the "Gorazde scenario," but the suffering of Bihac is even worse than that of Gorazde, since the present commander of the peace forces, General Rose, would rather chat with the criminal Mladic than, like his predecessor general Philipe Morillon, try to do something to protect the civilians there.

However, Kozyrev is right, since Milosevic actually could stop the attacks on Bihac even now that Karadzic's "soldiers" are at its gates... The key is the Contact Group peace plan. If they change it in such a way as to give the Serbs as much territory as they demanded, as well as the right to "take it out of Bosnia" and annex it to Serbia, the offensive against Bihac would stop immediately. The world has an interest in encouraging the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina to make concessions. If the Serbs enter Bihac and it is obvious that no outside force can stop them, an unimaginable humanitarian disaster will follow. The Bihac situation is even worse than the Vukovar tragedy of three years ago, because Croatia was able to take care of the people the Serb criminals expelled from Vukovar. The Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot do so at present, and it is also not possible that the Serbs will only open the passage in their circle around town for the population they decided to expel to be able to go to the free territory of their homeland. If they enter Bihac, the Serbs will certainly start evicting the population in the direction of Croatia—we suppose Karlovac—which would cause an even more difficult refugee crisis at Turanj than the one that started this summer, when the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army liberated Velika Kladusa, and Abdic pulled the people along into exodus.

The Role of Russia

Kozyrev is obviously suggesting that all this can be stopped by making a concession for the Serb side in the peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is quite sufficient to give up on preserving the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state, and to de facto divide it between Serbia and Croatia. Naturally, the 51:49 division that was on the table this summer is now out of the question. Holding a knife under the neck of Bihac, the Serbs can now demand greater territorial concessions. With the cutting out of the maps, the geographical reality should be shaped in such a way that the Croat-Bosniak federation that would be left of Bosnia-Herzegovina after the separation of the Serb territories, would simply have no chance of survival. That way it would be pushed toward a strong state connection with Croatia. Instead of Croatia getting the ally Bosnia-Herzegovina as an element of stability at its borders, the dissatisfied Bosniak element would be built into the Croatian state as a permanent source of instability. Naturally, with the establishment of this kind of connection between the Serb-occupied section of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia, Croatia would have less and less chance of reintegrating its occupied territories. The Russians know that the Serbs are fighting this battle for them too. The Drina River has historically been the border across which the Russians have never managed to spread their influence. The Serbs are in the Russian sphere of interest, and now that Russia is weaker than ever, it has the chance to spread its sphere of interest in the Balkans. Russia at present does not exist as a serious world country. A trace of the position of a superpower has remained in the UN Security Council, of which Russia is a permanent member, which means it is equal to the serious countries, and it has the right to a veto. Another place where it appears as an equal "world power" is the Contact Group. While the position of Russia in the Security Council has been formed since the beginning as "antagonist," its role in the Contact Group should be "cooperative"—therefore, Russia should be an equal exponent of dialogue. The Russians have been skilfully using their equality to deepen the disagreements within the Contact Group. The main European fixation is the fear of war at its edges, which could start a new wave of refugees seeking refuge in Europe. The Russians are therefore trying to divide the United States, which supports a hard position toward the Serbs as disturbers of the world order, from the European partners. Europe is in crisis and it is obvious that only Germany has a vision of continental development. However, it is still burdened by the obligation to give in to the largest neighboring country, France.

A change in the configuration of European relations could occur only with the decision of the United States to make a firmer connection with the Old Continent, and then the crossing of progressive European countries, of which Germany is the most powerful partner, and Turkey would also have an important role. In these

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circumstances, modern states of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina would also become very important. However, the United States has increasingly been turning its interests toward the Pacific basin, while Europe slowly assumes marginal relevance. The Contact Group meeting at the ministerial level is being prepared, and France and England are increasingly prepared to listlessly give in to Russian interests and acknowledge the right of Russians to extend their sphere of interest acros the two rivers that have always signified the border of Balkan territory.

Commentary Lauds 'Serb Victory' at Bihac

AU1012160194 Pale JAVNOST in Serbo-Croatian 3 Dec 94 pp 7,8

[Commentary by Dragoljub Jeknic: "The Noose Is Broken!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The 5th Corps of the Muslim army is crushed. One part has surrendered to the Serbian forces, the other part to the military formations of Fikret Abdic, some of the soldiers have fled to the woods, having dressed up as civilians, and are trying to save themselves by getting as far away from Bihac and battlefields as possible, while one group of Dudakovic's fighters is hiding behind the barricades and civilians in the center of the town. They are burning old automobile tires around apartment blocks and in the hospital yard, causing explosions, still hoping that NATO jets and Islamic-American cries that Bihac must not fall into Serbian hands might help them.

The United States did try to halt the advance of the Serbian army by supporting the Muslim forces from the air, but this was insufficient to considerably influence the strategic swing of the Serbian counteroffensive and its correct decision to defeat the 5th Corps and dismember the so-called Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Running Blitz

The commander of the 5th Corps, General Atif Durakovic, already saw himself as great general penetrating deep within Serbian territories east and west from Bihac, that is, in the Srpska republic and in the republic of Serbian Krajina. His commando groups were attacking the Serbian fighters perfidiously from the back, mercilessly killing whatever could possibly be killed. Dudakovic began to imagine his troops merging with the army of the Republic of Croatia in an unstoppable running blitz somewhere at Banija or Kordun, and on the other side with other Muslims corps from central Bosnia, advancing from the direction of Petrovac.

The world calmly looked on and kept silent while Dudakovic was pushing the units of the Serbian army back from the so-called safe area of Bihac, devastating Serbian villages and killing helpless civilians. Many international media almost choked with enthusiasm while reporting on great Muslim victories, the destroyed myth about Serbian invincibility, the turning point in the war to the benefit of the Muslims, and so forth.

All Serbs throughout the world knew that nothing like that was possible.

It is impossible to defeat the Serbian army. Its defeat would mean a defeat for Serbian survival.

Unfortunately, many who are involved in any of the countless forums analyzing the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina still do not want to understand that.

For instance, Bob Dole, leader of the Republican majority in the U.S. Senate and well-known Muslim lobbyist, does not want to understand that. He resignedly commented on the defeat of the 5th Corps at Bihac. With a trembling voice he acknowledged that Dudakovic lost the battle. Since he was not able to find a more convincing justification for the defeat, he customarily accused the Russians, who allegedly furnished the Serbs with anti-Air Force missile systems. He even came to NATO headquarters in Brussels with the intention of personally overseeing takeoffs by NATO jets against the Serbs. He is quite silly, this Robert Dole. What does he think—that his jets will be able to safely bomb Serbian lands? They have not been able to do that anywhere else in the world, so they will certainly not be able to do that against Serbian lands.

But what Dole does not want to understand, chief of the Pentagon William Perry perfectly understands. The man says: "The Serbs have won the battle for Bihac." The Muslims are to blame because they provoked the Serbian counteroffensive by their offensive from the so-called safe zone. Nobody prodded them to leave their warm nests in Bihac and start an offensive against Serbian positions, settlements and towns.

"No, air strikes will not help," Perry says. They may be a punishment on Serbs, but they cannot stop or change the outcome of the war.

The Bosnian Muslims and Tudjman's Croats did devise quite a smart plan. They reckoned they would provoke clashes, attack the Serbs, and then the NATO jets would come and level everything that is Serbian into the ground. That they would exterminate Serbs and destroy their graveyards and origins.

Vladimir Seks, deputy chairman of the Croatian Parliament, says, without hiding his knowledge of the existence of such plans: "NATO gave us a firm promise that it would settle the strategic interests of Croatia with airstrikes."

It is simply unbelievable that anyone would be able to give such a promise to Seks and Croatia.

Because that would mean war, large-scale war. Perhaps even a new global conflict.

What does it mean "to settle the strategic interests of Croatia with air strikes?"

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Mythologists

Is there not anyone else in the region who has strategic interests, apart from Seks' Croatia? Are NATO jets the only ones in the world capable of settling so-called strategic interests through airstrikes?

Shallow-minded and senseless consideration!

As long as such attitudes exist, that someone's jets can possibly settle someone else's strategic interests, the world is in great danger. Earth is in question. The planet where we live, and not only we humans, but also animals and flora, are in question. If people want to destroy themselves, who gives them right to destroy all life on this planet? Nature will have to react, to punish all those fools who think that this planet exists only to make possible the accomplishment of strategic interests supported by a group of irresponsible people.

Thus spoke Seks, in a panic because of the Muslim defeat at Bihac. Because it was at the same time a defeat of Croatia, which had to pay a high price for supplying Dudakovic's large corps with all the necessary equipment. Seks is threatening, instead of being thankful for having to no longer care for 30,000 of Izetbegovic's soldiers in the Bihac pocket. Owing precisely to the brilliant Serbian victory, the Republic of Croatia will save tons of gasoline, oil, weapons, and keep for itself all the equipment and supplies intended for the units of the 5th Corps.

Seks' political consideration is obviously shallow and low. The troops of Fikret Abdic also contributed to the defeat of the 5th Corps. The Republic of Croatia contributed to it also. It fought on the Serbian side because it denied transit visas to Abdic's people for European countries. It prevented a great migration to the West. And what other choice did Abdic (who, by the way, did not even think about going to Croatia or to the West) and his people have but to fight their way back to the place whence the 5th Corps had expelled them?

The terrible disease called absurdity has not degenerated only the brains of Dole or Seks. The brains of many leading world politicians and diplomats have been affected by this disease also. Particularly severely and incurably affected are the brains of all the leading Muslim figures in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Several days ago a group of distinguished sick persons met in the middle of Sarajevo and demanded that charges against the three chief UN representatives in the former Yugoslavia, namely Akashi, Rose and de Lapresle, be considered. That group of desperate, absolutely sick people is officially called the Muslim lawyers' association.

Bihac definitely finished them off. They should be confined to bed. They, just like Bihac, cannot be helped. Just because Serbs are alive they will soon put the blame for that on the entire world. Now they would like to bring Akashi, Rose and de Lapresle to the court in The Hague. What demonic mind and vision!

It is strange that the functioning of their minds is not understood by the people in Belgrade, who lament [as published] some sort of future Yugoslav reunion and system these days.

Obviously, a certain number of Serbian intellectuals have also been sick, but with Yugomania.

Delusions

Are those brains really worth healing, or should they be left to certain decomposure? Should they be left to die with the delusion that nonexistent relations exist, that a non-existing consciousness exist, that a nonexistent trust actually exists, or that a nonexistent geography actually exists?

And while Belgrade mythologists talk nonsense about Yugoslavia within the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] borders, the Srpska republic, which they do not even think about or refer to in their myths, is a reality that Bihac also strongly confirms. The circle that was like a noose tightened around the Srpska republic over the past months is now broken thanks to the army that defends its country in the first place. These days many international forums will be held at which the situation in former Bosnia-Herzegovina will be discussed. Some, like German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, are further insisting on the fulfillment of the demands that prescribe what the Serbs in the Srpska republic are supposed to do, which regions and territories they are supposed to abandon. Furthermore, all those demands refer only to Serbs when insisting upon the observation of all UN Security Council resolutions. However, generally seen, the old problem arises again—the peace plan and Bosnia-Herzegovina as a union of now warring factions has become topical again.

The so-called international forums are definitely incapable of understanding that it is senseless to go back to where we were so many months ago.

With their support and NATO jets, the Muslim-Croatian coalition failed to crush the Srpska republic, to change its geography. Moreover, the map of the Srpska republic now includes the Serbian regions that were until yesterday under Muslim control.

It is clear that the Srpska republic is the winner in this war caused by Muslim leaders.

So can the so-called peace plan and maps of the contact group be discussed now?

No, they cannot! "A dead head cannot rise from the grave."

All the earlier plans of the contact group must be annulled and properly placed in the drawer together with other failed tricks and constructions.

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The so-called international community must give up senseless formulas about the Muslim-Croatian federation, the confederation of that federation with the republic of Croatia, the confederation of the Srpska republic with the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], or about the union within the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which are internationally recognized.

Formulas

Such formulas lead nowhere. Those are formulas for new hostilities, for new wars. They are not a result of realistic historic, ethnic, existential or civilizational relations, but rather of political myths.

Nowhere in the world do such states exist, and never will. One must stop insisting on something that cannot strike roots, that is absolutely lifeless, monstrous and mastadon-like.

However, there are certain moves forward. They are no longer made day by day, but rather hour by hour. The news has come from Washington that the U.S. Administration is considering the recognition of the confederal status with the FRY for Serbs in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Yet, the former Bosnia-Herzegovina is supposed to remain within its AVNOJ borders undivided.

This does mean a move forward, perhaps even a newly-born awareness that nothing will remain from a unified Bosnia-Herzegovina soon, that Bosnia as a union is impossible, and that everything that is being proposed should be just a transition toward the final and absolute separation of all parties from all parties.

Finally, perhaps it is too strong to say that yet another defeat of the Muslim army, like the catastrophe of the 5th Corps, would resolve all dilemmas and bring about an agreement on the cessation of the war. Perhaps we were on the threshold of peace even earlier this year, when the Srpska army stood in front of all four gates of Sarajevo. Had not certain mistakes been made at the time, we would probably already have peace by now. In that respect Bihac, as an opportunity, should not be missed.

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Tudjman, Bosnian Leaders Discuss Confederation

LD1012150394 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 94

[Statement issued by the President's Office in Zagreb on 10 December]

[FBIS Translated Text] Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, has received in the Presidential Palace Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation; Jadrano Prlic, defense minister and deputy prime minister of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation; Neven Tomic, minister of finance in the government of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation; Nikola Grabovac, minister of trade in the government of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation; Stjepo Andric, minister without portfolio; Mato Tadic, minister of justice; and Mijo Brajkovic, mayor of Mostar. [Croatian] Defense Minister Gojko Susak; Pero Jurkovic, governor of the National Bank of Croatia; Ivic Pasalic, the president's adviser for internal policy; and Bosiljko Misetic, the president's adviser for confederal issues, also attended the meeting.

They discussed a series of concrete issues in the process of implementing the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and its confederation with the Republic of Croatia. They also discussed the overall efforts to solve the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It was stressed that the strengthening of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and its confederation with Croatia was an important part of the peace process.

President Tudjman said that Croatia strongly supports the creation of the federation and its confederation with Croatia, and that the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna will remain in existence until the federation and the confederation start functioning.

After the talks President Zubak said that the implementation of the Washington agreement is in the interest of the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

UNPROFOR: Croat-RSK Cease-Fire Holding

LD0912185894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1555 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Knin, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—United Nations Protection Force [UNPROFOR] officials said Friday the ceasefire agreement between Serb Krajina and Croatia was being observed in the sector based in the town of Knin.

UNPROFOR commander in Knin Czech Gen. Rostislav Kotil and U.N. spokesman in the sector Alun Roberts told a press conference the ceasefire was holding with the exception of random incidents, two of which [were] rather serious.

Gen. Kotil said the random incidents were raising suspicions on both sides regarding the implementation of the ceasefire. He also said U.N. peacekeepers were safe.

Roberts said UNPROFOR was cooperating well with the authorities of the republic of Serb Krajina.

Kotil said efforts should be made to promote the eight-month ceasefire between Serb Krajina and Croatia, which would be impossible without the cooperation of both the authorities and the people.

Speaking about the situation along the demarcation line, Kotil said there was tension, but there was no sign of deterioration. He said the situation could be controlled and possible deterioration prevented by cooperation with both sides.

Serb Krajina president Milan Martic on Friday informed U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali that Croatian troops were amassing on the Krajina-Croatian border in violation of the Zagreb ceasefire agreement, before the very eyes of UNPROFOR and observers.

Serbs in Croatia set up their own state, the republic of Serb Krajina in 1991, after Croatia launched a war of secesssion from the former Yugoslavia and removed Serb national rights from the Croatian constitution.

Croatian forces attacked Krajina but were largely driven back. The territory of Serb Krajina was placed under United Nations protection in the spring of 1992, but has since been the target of four new Croatian offensives.

Martic Pledges Military Aid to Bosnian Serbs

LD1012210094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1952 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], said in Grahovo [western Srpska republic] today that the combined attack by the Croatian Army and the [Bosnian] Croatian Defense Council on the western border of the Srpska republic was also an attack on the RSK. The RSK president stressed that Krajina "must help its brethren in the Srpska republic."

Assessing that the objective of Croat aggression was to cut off the western part of the Srpska republic from the RSK, President Martic added that the Serb army of Krajina would join in the defense of the Grahovo-Glamoc area.

We must help each other, regardless of the efforts the international community is investing to prevent this, Martic concluded.

Martic Protests Croatian Troops Massing on Border

LD0912130594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1158 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], sent a letter today to UN Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali about the concentration of Croatian troops on the RSK border in full view of UNPROFOR members and foreign observers.

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"The Republic of Croatia recently deployed tens of thousands of newly mobilized soldiers on the border with the RSK, thereby seriously violating all the provisions of the Zagreb cease-fire agreement," Martic said in the letter, which was forwarded to TANJUG today. "The concentration of Croatian troops at the RSK border has provoked no response from UNPROFOR representatives, EU observers, or the Security Council. This means that Croatia has a free hand to carry out its vicious warring intentions," the RSK president wrote.

Martic went on to recall that Croatia recently "carried out aggression on the territory of the Srpska republic, in the direction of Glamoc and [Bosansko] Grahovo cities, and on the territory of the RSK in the Mt. Dinara area," very near Knin. According to Martic, in these offensives the Croats "ethnically cleansed" the above mentioned areas and drove out 7,000 Serbs.

Recalling that the RSK and Croatia signed agreements on the opening of roads, the electrical distribution system, the pipeline and water supply lines a few days ago, Martic added that "these agreements will be impossible to implement while Croatia is instigating fresh conflicts." He said that due to the current situation, after it saw how the Croatian Army waged war "in the Medak pocket in August 1993", the RSK had to mobilize its reserve forces.

Appealing to Butrus-Ghali urgently to take effective measures in order to halt the Croatian military machine, Martic stressed: "If you found a reason to bomb the Serbs when they were defending themselves from the Muslim army around Bihac, you can find hundreds of reasons to use NATO forces against the Croatian Army which is attacking the Serbs in the Srpska republic and the RSK, who are committed to a peaceful solution to all problems."

RSK, Croatia Agree To Withdraw Artillery

LD0912212394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2019 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Beli Manastir, Dec 9 (TANJUG)—Serb Krajina and Croatia Friday agreed to withdraw heavy arms from the separation line in the area protected by the United Nations command in Erdut in the next 10 days.

Serb Krajina and Croatian representatives agreed at a meeting held at the Sarvas-Nemetin border crossing to again observe the April ceasefire agreement under which heavy weapons were to be pulled back 10-20 km from the separation line. The agreement had been observed until Nov. 21 when NATO launched air strikes on Udbina airfield in southern Krajina.

Maximum tension in the area controlled by the U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] command based in the eastern Serb Krajina town of Erdut on the Danube River, prompted both Krajina and Croatia to take troops and arms to the frontline.

Local Serb Krajina army Assistant Commander Col. Kosta Novakovic said the two sides had also agreed on concrete modalities of heavy weapons deployment in the region. Col. Novakovic said that the meeting in Beli Manastir had also been attended by UNPROFOR representatives. He said the meeting had also focused on the return of U.N. civilian police to the stations they had left one day before the NATO air strikes on Udbina airfield and on free movement to U.N. military observers, but that no concrete agreements were reached.

Serbs in Croatia set up their own state, the republic of Serb Krajina, in 1991, after Croatia launched a war of secession from the former Yugoslavia and removed Serb national rights from the Croatian Constitution. Croatian forces attacked Krajina but were largely driven back. The territory of Serb Krajina was placed under U.N. protection in the spring of 1992, but has since been the target of four new Croatian military offensives.

Martic: Croatia 'Not Interested in Peace'

LD1112175194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1701 GMT 11 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], said today that Croatia's present behavior is not conducive to the peace process.

Speaking on the Radio Kragujevac "Sign of the Times" program, Martic pointed out that Croatia is currently massing fresh troops along the RSK border, and that the aggression in the Grahovo and Glamoc area is an attempt to cut off Knin and the southern part of the RSK from the Srpska republic and Serbia. This, he said, shows that Croatia is not interested in peace.

Martic recalled that consultations are under way on the specific implementation of the agreement on economic issues, the details of which will soon be made known. "However, we cannot embark on the second stage if Croatia does not withdraw its units deployed against the RSK, because that would be a major blow to the cease-fire agreement," he said.

Martic said there is "a certain dose of impatience on the Croatian side to begin resolving political issues," adding that talks on this would be pointless if the first two stages in the negotiations are not completed. "If we do not resolve economic and humanitarian issues of mutual interest, we cannot find common ground for resolving political relations," the RSK president concluded.

RSK Protests Misinterpretation of Road Accord

LD0912124894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1116 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], sent a letter today to Bertrand de Lapresle, the UNPROFOR commander for former Yugoslavia, protesting an UNPROFOR spokesman's misinterpretation of the agreement on reopening the Zagreb-Belgrade

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highway. In his letter, which was sent to TANJUG, Martic quotes media reports and points out that the UNPROFOR spokesman in Zagreb said on Tuesday at a news conference "that UNPROFOR will open the Zagreb-Belgrade highway the moment the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] agree on this."

"Such a statement by your official representative is in tune with Croatia's propaganda, according to which the section of the highway passing through the RSK is the property of the Republic of Croatia," Martic said.

Stressing that "this does not contribute to a peaceful solution to the Serb-Croatian disputes," the RSK president pointed out that the highway can only be opened on the basis of the recent agreement between Knin and Zagreb.

Martic also notes in his letter that "regardless of this agreement, the FRY can reach separate agreements with the Republic of Croatia which do not meet the RSK's interests."

RSK's Mikelic on 'Complicated' Zagreb Relations

AU1112164894 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Borislav Mikelic, prime minister of the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], was the guest of Belgrade Radio today. We have selected for the "News of the Day" program a comment by Prime Minister Mikelic on the current relations between the RSK and the Republic of Croatia.

[Begin recording] [Mikelic] I must say that the situation has certainly become more complicated, especially after what had happened in Bihac after they had amassed their forces on the lines of separation, on the border, especially in the places where the buffer zone was supposed to be respected. I think that things are becoming more complicated and more acute following the latest events, which occurred at about the time we held intensive negotiations on the agreement on economic issues, following the developments in Bihac—they made [word indistinct] I would say around Grahovo—and the way the Croatian Defense Council torched nine Serbian villages and caused substantial damage. The Croatian regular army practically entered that part of Herzegovina from Croatia. I would say that things are now in a stage of a very complex situation in relations between Croatia and the RSK.

[Unidentified reporter] Mr. Mikelic, considering these conditions, can one expect the realization of the Zagreb-Knin economic agreement in the near future?

[Mikelic] The aim of the economic agreement or the second stage, which followed our agreement on the cease-fire and, I would say, a fairly successful realization in the first two or three months when skirmishes, killing, and incursions stopped—it was they who were mainly involved in incursions; in 1993 there were two serious cases, the Miljevacki Plateau and the Medak pocket; of course, we have not done this anywhere; but mutual squabbling most certainly occurred. [sentence as heard] The situation then calmed to a great extent and remained that way until the refugees from the autonomous province of western Bosnia arrived in Kordun. Subsequent events and the wishes of the 5th Corps to make things go the way they happened made things concerning the agreement on economic issues more complicated.

Nevertheless, we entered the second stage because of Europe and the international community in order to prove our cooperativeness and reduce tensions. I think that the tensions had in fact been reduced, but they were not correct in that. Even on the day we were signing the agreement on economic relations they demanded that the Security Council adopt a resolution stopping the arrival of goods to us, that is, oil and other goods, which confirms that their aims are something else. Our agreement can probably be considered to be more of our attitude toward the international community, more of a wish to solve problems in a peaceful way, and not in the sense that we trust Croatia and its leadership that they will honor the agreement.

We on our part will certainly not be able to open parts of the highway, nor will we be able to do this with regard to oil, electricity, and water if things continue to move in this direction and develop the way they are doing at this moment. I think that in that case things will become more complicated, and I assume that the Central Commission will hold an emergency session on the realization of the cease-fire agreement, and even the realization of this agreement that we signed, if the international community wants to see progress. [end recording]

Prospects for RSK-Croatia Economic Accord

LD1012213994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1911 GMT 10 Dec 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Knin, Dec. 10 (TANJUG)—Deputy Co-Chairman of the Conference on Former Yugoslavia Kai Eide said here Saturday that a Krajina-Croatia economic accord could soon be implemented in a fair and correct way.

Eide made this comment at a meeting between Serb Krajina and United Nations Protection Force [UNPROFOR] officials in Knin that focused on all topics related to the implementation of the Dec. 2 Krajina-Croatia economic agreement.

Eide, who headed international representatives, said the seven-hour meeting discussed details which would secure a prompt implementation of the agreement in all its segments.

Serb Krajina Energy Minister Milivoj Kricka, who headed the Krajina delegation, said Krajina's three specialized teams Saturday discussed sections of the agreement concerning water and power supply and reopening

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of the highway. Kricka said the opening of the oil pipeline would be discussed in Knin on Tuesday.

Commenting on the talks on the restoration of the power supply system, Kricka said UNPROFOR had agreed that 400-KV transmission lines should first be repaired, followed by a reparation of lower voltage ones.

Serbs in Croatia set up their own state, the republic of Serb Krajina, in 1991, after Croatia launched a war of secession from the former Yugoslavia and removed Serb national rights from the Croatian Constitution. The town of Knin is the capital of Serb Krajina.

The territory of Serb Krajina was placed under United Nations protection in the spring of 1992. Serb Krajina and Croatia held their first direct talks in Zagreb late last March and reached a ceasefire agreement. Normalization of Serb Krajina-Croatia economic relations is underway.

Serb 'Terrorists' Attack Civilian Vehicle

LD1112201694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 11 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Serb terrorists attacked a civilian vehicle in the village of Kusonje near Pakrac at around 1100 today. Two Zolja missiles were fired at the car, which was carrying two passengers. Luckily, the target was missed. The vehicle was then sprayed with strong automatic rifle and hit by some 30 bullets. The driver has been seriously wounded.

HSS Assembly Elects New Party Chairman

LD1112145994 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Zlatko Tomcic is the new chairman of the Croatian Peasants' Party [Hrvatska Seljacka Stranka, HSS]. He was elected from four candidates by the delegates of the main assembly of the HSS. The hitherto chairman, Drago Stipac, who is resigning for health reasons, was elected honorary chairman. [passage omitted]

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Police To Train in Russia; Delegation in Moscow

LD1112152894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1329 GMT 11 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—Some Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM] police personnel will be trained in Russia, especially for the investigation of violent crimes, it was announced in Skopje this weekend when a delegation of the FYROM Ministry of Internal Affairs returned from a visit to Moscow.

During its stay in Russia, the delegation, headed by Minister of Police Ljubomir Frckovski, signed a protocol on cooperation in combating organized crime. The delegation held talks in Moscow with Russian Interior Minister Viktor Yerin and representatives of the intelligence and counterintelligence services.

Frckovski recently denied the existence of organized crime in the FYROM, but the most important provisions of the protocol signed in Moscow refer to "prevention of organized crime, especially in the sphere of so-called money laundering and the arms trade". [passage omitted]

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Drnovsek Officially Asks for EFTA Membership

AU0912172194 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] REUTER has reported this morning that Ambassador Anton Bebler, head of the Slovene permanent mission in Geneva, had handed a letter of intentions about Slovenia joining the European Free Trade Association [EFTA] to EFTA Secretary General Chiartan Johansson today. Our country would, by this, be the first country in transition to become a member of this association. The Slovene entry into EFTA should be discussed at the ministerial summit of this organization in Geneva next week. In connection with this, our correspondent, Zvone Zorko, phoned Geneva, where Ambassador Bebler explained today's action as follows:

[Begin Bebler recording] I have just visited the EFTA secretary general, Mr. Chiartan Johansson, to whom I have handed a copy of a letter that Slovene Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek had addressed to the prime ministers of the four countries, EFTA members, that will definitely remain members after 1 January 1995, namely, to the prime ministers of Switzerland, Norway, Iceland, and Liechtenstein.

In his letter, Dr. Janez Drnovsek expressed Slovenia's active interest in the promotion of further cooperation between Slovenia and the EFTA countries. He proposes discussing as soon as possible and sign very quickly a free trade agreement between EFTA as a whole and the republic of Slovenia. This agreement has, technically, been almost ready and has been waiting for clarification of the situation within EFTA itself.

Further, Prime Minister Drnovsek proposes that the EFTA ministers, who will meet at their last summit with the present lineup in the middle of next week, seriously discuss the strengthening of further cooperation between the republic of Slovenia and EFTA, and possibly a higher status for Slovenia in relations with EFTA. Here Drnovsek mentions two possibilities, the first being Slovene associate membership and the second being equal membership. The next, highest, status would be would be full EFTA membership [as heard].

We expect that the EFTA ministers will discuss this among themselves and then perhaps tell Slovenia about the conclusion reached at the end of their summit next week, that is, whether they have reached a consensus regarding a reply to this Slovene initiative. [end recording]

Berlusconi's Letter to Drnovsek Released to Media

AU0912085094 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 8 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The government information bureau has released a letter by Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi to Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek to the media. This letter comes as a reply to Drnovsek's letter to Berlusconi, dated 24 October.

The Italian Prime Minister in his reply among other things assures that his government will try to find solutions for the problems in relations between the countries and will actively support Slovenia on its way to the EU [European Union] associate membership. Berlusconi also expresses the wish that the near continuation of the talks between Ljubljana and Rome would give positive results and help bilateral relations.

Survey Shows Attitudes Toward EU Associate Membership

AU1112205894

[FBIS Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene in its 3 December edition on pages 1 and 4 carries the results of an opinion poll about Slovenia's efforts to gain European Community associate membership.

According to reporter Slava Partljic, the poll was carried out among 770 randomly chosen citizens on 29 and 30 November. The exact manner in which the poll was carried out is not specified.

When asked how they would vote if there was a referendum on Slovenia's EU [European Union] membership tomorrow, 67.7 percent replied they would vote in favor, 16.9 percent would vote against, and 15.5 percent did not know. As Parljic remarks, this shows that "euroscepticism" is slowly growing in Slovenia, too, as in a June poll 78.4 percent replied positively to the same question.

However, as it is further shown, when asked whether they would support Slovenia's EU entry on the condition that the country changes its constitution and allows foreigners to obtain real estate in Slovenia, 52.5 percent replied negatively while 33.4 percent nevertheless supported the motion.

Asked what would be the "most proper" position of our government in the negotiations on EU associate membership, 40.6 percent replied that the country should "maintain an adamant, unyielding attitude toward Italy." A further 22.3 percent advised "to search for a compromise with the Italians," 17.5 percent suggested "trying to get other EU members on our side," while 10.9 percent proposed "to give up EU associate membership for a short while."

Two-thirds of the pollees—65.4 percent—believe that Slovenia will eventually settle relations with Italy.

However, when asked about integrations to the south, namely "would you favor the formation of a new alliance of the Yugoslav republics, which would also include Slovenia, after the restoration of peace in the Balkans," 89 percent of the pollees said no. Only 6.1 percent favored such an option, while 4.9 percent were undecided.

Eight Members of Accounting Court Endorsed

AU0912194694 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 9 Dec 94

[Report by Zdenka Bakalar]

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[FBIS Translated Text] The Accounting Court will commence work in the new year, at least that is what the law says. Beforehand, however, such mundane problems as office space will need to be resolved. Today, parliament endorsed eight members of the Accounting Court, while candidate Borut Radina did not win a sufficient number of votes. The voting itself did not pass smoothly, as two opposition deputies demanded the anullment of the results, alleging that the electoral commission did not ascertain the number of invalid ballots correctly. Parliament did not concur with these critiques.

In a secret ballot, deputies also elected the chairman of the Accounting Court, who will, for the next nine years, be Dr. Vojko Antoncic. Prior to the voting, Antoncic had to answer to some questions by opposition deputies. When asked how much time will this institution, which will actually control the spending of half of the GNP, require to start working, Antoncic replied that it would be difficult to give a precise answer at that moment, but that he intended to roll up his sleeves right away. Antoncic added that once the standards for assessment of efficiency, purposefulness, and prudence in the use of public finances were established, it would be possible to say that the Accounting Court is working at full capacity. However, the Accounting Court cannot set these standards itself. Let me also say that the mandate of the Accounting Court members is nine years.

Parliament today also voted publicly on four deputy human rights ombudsmen. Ivo Bizjak only got three deputies, as the parliament did not agree that Cvetka Kozole be one of the deputies.

After the cadre affairs, deputies moved on to the amendments to the budget memorandum. They rejected a proposal to allocate 7 percent of the GDP for the financing of municipalities, which means, that all new municipalities together will have approximately the same amount of money as so far, namely, 5 percent of the GDP.

Deputies ruled that the harmonization of pensions remains unchanged and is, therefore, pegged to the increase of salaries. An additional 17 billion tolars of losses in the budget of the pensions' fund will not be covered from the fund's own reserves, as the government had proposed, but will be partially assumed by the budget. Deputies agreed that national programs will have to be trimmed, as the state would lack 32 billion tolars for their complete servicing.

Dr. Zagozen Resigns From Defense Ministry

AU1112194994 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 2 Dec 94 p 2

[V.V.-initialed report: "Dr. Joze Zagozen Will No Longer Lecture on Logistics in Defense Ministry"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ljubljana, 1 Dec—Dr. Joze Zagozen, former director of the 2d Logistics Administration in the Defense Ministry, today forwarded a written explanation to the media about a request for the voluntary termination of his employment in the Defense Ministry. After he was replaced as director, he was appointed a logistics lecturer. However, he would need to resign as the head of the Social Democratic Party economic forum for this, which was unacceptable to him.

Dr. Zagozen concluded that since the replacement of former Defense Minister Janez Jansa he has been treated in a way that would ensure his departure from the Defense Ministry. He was thus forced to propose the voluntary termination of employment. [passage omitted]

"Although those responsible in the Defense Ministry knew I was president of the Social Democratic economic forum, they offered me a post which demands wearing a uniform, which means that I would immediately have to leave the Social Democratic Party and resign as the president of its economic forum," Zagozen says. [passage omitted].

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Federal

Jovanovic Sees Better Chances for B-H Peace

AU1112205994 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 11 Dec 94

[Interview with Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Dragan Colovic for the "Sunday at Ten" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Colovic] Minister Jovanovic, I welcome you on behalf of the "Sunday at Ten" listeners.

[Jovanovic] Good day to you and to your respected listeners.

[Colovic] I would like to start this interview with the conclusion that the events concerning the denouement of the Yugoslav crisis and the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina are moving at such a pace that it is almost difficult to follow them. We are witnessing something new, even unexpected every day.

Minister Jovanovic, in these circumstances there have recently been many signals from the international community—and there have also been several individual indications—on the basis of which one could conclude that the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] and Belgrade are expected to play, not an insignificant, but perhaps a key crucial role in the finale, or rather, in the closing of the Yugoslav crisis file. Therefore, there has been hardly a day without some of the international mediators visiting Belgrade. How would you explain this?

[Jovanovic] I would explain this with two reasons. The first is the geostrategic knowledge of the importance and position of the FRY as a country with a (?central) geographic position and as an unavoidable factor in every search for a political solution to the Bosnian and other aspects of the Yugoslav crisis. This realization has considerably contributed to the attention, policies, and calculations that the world is making with regard to Bosnia-Herzegovina being increasingly turned to us.

The other reason is that our policy of peace with very tangible and impressive contributions, which have received in the meantime world recognition and respect, that this policy of peace has become an obvious fact to the extent that all those who want to see some progress and positive changes in the process of the settlement of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and other aspects of the Yugoslav crisis, simply feel that they should come to Yugoslavia, to Belgrade to see the possibilities for a faster and more efficient settlement of these problems.

Therefore, the fact that Belgrade has become a small European or world capital in the last few weeks or months, a meeting place for all the creators of the peace process, and the fact that we are asked for opinions, proposals, suggestions, and contributions is only the confirmation that our policy is a policy of peace and cooperation in settling the Yugoslav crisis. Appeals to the world to accept the fact that cooperation with Yugoslavia can be established only if it is treated as an equal partner in the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, this policy is fully affirmed, accepted by the world, and I would say has started to yield the first specific results for us.

[Colovic] There are many international organizations involved in the Yugoslav crisis and the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, which we believe is drawing to a close, ranging from the United Nations, the European Union, the CSCE, to NATO. Some individual countries are also involved in this, especially those from the circle of the big ones. They are acting either independently or through or within some bodies such as the Contact Group. There are some views that in the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, the international community has displayed helplessness. How would you assess the role of individual international factors, especially in this final stage of the crisis' denouement?

[Jovanovic] The international community has shown certain progress and at the same time, as you said, certain stagnation. This is the consequence of the fact that only one section of the international community has mustered strength and has the vision to make the necessary corrections in the hitherto one-sided attitude toward the Yugoslav crisis, to be more balanced, and to accept the obvious fact that Yugoslavia is more a victim of the Yugoslav crisis than its generator.

Other protagonists in this process, other sections of the international community are not ready yet to make such an effort or to view the prospects of settling the crisis in that light, which is reflected in the relatively slow pace in the work of the Contact Group and other factors in the international community.

However, the trend of the situation being viewed in a more objective light and of placing things where they belong is evident. Even the United States, which has so far been the hardest, the most exclusive, and the most resistant to changes is showing signs of the wish to open toward them, to assess them differently and—although not openly, but de facto, in any case—to carry out progressively the necessary corrections in some of its critical stands. [passage omitted]

[Colovic] Minister Jovanovic, a certain relaxation has recently been felt in relations between Belgrade and Pale. The public at home received the arrival of the delegation of the Srpska republic [RS] in Belgrade with a certain amount of surprise, but generally with relief and friendliness. The talks with President Slobodan Milosevic were perceived as a reliable sign that we are closer to peace, that the people in the RS are now ready to join in the negotiating process to end the almost three-year-old conflict. Do you think this could be an important turning point on the path toward a just and lasting peace?

[Jovanovic] It is difficult to say at present whether this is an important turning point or an important step in the correct direction. In any case, this is a significant event

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because it shows that both sides are currently being more or less guided by reality. This is particularly important for the RS, whose leadership had until recently been trying to find the way out of the situation by using some weak or incorrect assumptions. Now, with the strengthening of the peace process in which new explanations, more specific explanations, and even assurances were given, regardless of the fact that they are more of a procedural than an essential character, the room for the RS leadership is being widened to realize the possibilities to join Yugoslavia in its support for the Contact Group's plan.

Creating a joint policy would certainly be of great interest, above all, for peace, ending the war, the successful conclusion of the peace process, and then, which is not unimportant, for establishing the unity of our nation on both sides of the Drina River, unity without which we cannot expect any tangible results in the long run.

We believe that the latest interpretation, the latest minor changes in the approach to the explanation of the Contact Group's plan are sufficient for the RS finally to see that the acceptance of that plan is not the end of negotiations, but the (?continuation) of the process of negotiations in which uncertainties and shortcomings of the plan could quickly be removed. Finally, what came from the Contact Group is the result of our continual efforts that the Contact Group express itself precisely with regard to some main issues, such as the issue of confederation, the non-withdrawal from the territories that should, according to the plan, belong to the other side until bilateral talks are held and until a consent is reached on the final constitutional setup.

These are the major and new moments that should not be ignored, moments that could, if correctly interpreted, be the bridge that could shift the [word indistinct] problem from one bank to the other. [passage omitted].

[Colovic] Can we expect Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic to visit Belgrade soon? Minister Jovanovic, you have recently visited Zagreb yourself.

[Jovanovic] Yes I did. Before me, former Deputy Prime Minister Simic was also there. The invitation is open. We can only speculate whether Minister Granic will come or not. It would be logical to assume that this visit should not be expected as long as the Croatian side is using the methods of aggravation and as long as it believes that it could benefit from aggravation. [passage omitted]

Belgrade Restores Phone Links to Pale

AU1012152794 Paris AFP in English 1358 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 10 (AFP)—Telephone links have been restored between Belgrade and Pale, "capital" of the self-styled Bosnian Serb republic, AFP journalists reported Saturday [10 December].

Lines between the rump Yugoslavia—Serbia and Montenegro—and territories controlled by rebel Bosnian Serbs were cut more than four months ago when Belgrade broke off political and economic relations with Pale.

The move was ordered by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to punish rebel Serb rejection of an international peace plan for Bosnia, which made an easing of UN sanctions against Serbia's crippled economy more distant.

A journalist from the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA, contacted in Pale from Belgrade, told AFP that phone lines had been re-established Friday evening.

Lilic Defends 'Peaceful' Policy at Rally

AU0912132994 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1206 GMT 9 Dec 94

[Address by President Zoran Lilic at rally in Lazarevac to mark the 80th anniversary of the World War I Battle of Kolubara, on 9 December—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted]

Esteemed citizens, the Serbian nation—80 years after the Battle of Kolubara and 50 years after the collapse of fascism in the World War II—has again been put in the position of having to prove that it is not a nation of conquerors but a peaceloving and freedom-loving nation, a nation that respects what belongs to others but expects others to respect what is its own.

Unfortunately, we have to prove this even to our allies from two world wars, allies who at the time of the Battle of Kolubara and before it, knew well who and what the Serbs are, and where they live. Our allies, for some short-term and selfish interests, want to forget that now. Thus they are rewriting the history of Europe, the world, and their own. But we know our history. It is stamped in the folk memory, and no one can erase it, simply because the people will not be deceived.

Now, war is being waged against us through the sanctions. They want to label us as aggressors; they accuse us of violating human rights and freedoms; and they say that we are guilty of the break-up of the earlier Yugoslavia and the war that is being waged in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. We must tell them now and always that we are not aggressors, nor do we violate human rights or the freedoms of any nation that lives in the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], nor have we caused the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina or the break-up of Yugoslavia.

On the contrary. Since the start of the crisis in the earlier Yugoslavia, and particularly in Bosnia-Herzegovina, we have been committed to a peaceful solution to the crisis. The policy of double standards seems to be the rule when it comes to the Serbian people. However, the international community must be clear that—as long as it, or rather some of its representatives, have this approach—there will be no peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. On the

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contrary, that is a path that leads to new conflicts, a path that leads to new victims, and a new war.

Still, we can now say with optimism that recently our consistently peaceful policy has begun to receive more open support by an increasing number of members of the international community. I am convinced that, with this consistent policy, the FRY will win equal treatment for the Serbian people and the other nations of the earlier Yugoslavia. The respect for our peaceful policy, and with it the lifting of the unjust sanctions, will enable us to implement fully the economic recovery program. All the citizens of our country are well aware of the great results of this program so far. We feel it in everyday life. Because of this success, our program has aroused a lively interest in foreign partners, who are increasingly and frequently inquiring about economic cooperation with us after the lifting of the sanctions. We are not asking anything from the international community except to be treated equally and to be allowed to take the place that we deserve on our merits, abilities, will, and knowledge in the international community of countries and peoples. I am convinced that this goal is achievable, since we have a sufficient natural and human potential and, most important, the will and readiness to face difficulties. [passage omitted]

This monument that we are unveiling today is a monument to the fact that we know how to wage war when it is necessary, but it also obliges us not to wage war when it is not necessary, and particularly not when the goals are wrong. Our goal is not war but peace and the economic recovery of the Balkans, which implies an alliance in peace with the members of all nations. This only can be in the true interests of the FRY. Of course, all the Serbs should be united in this, regardless of where they live.

I would once again like to greet our veteran warriors and all the participants in today's ceremony with the wish that we all together, in peace and freedom, work on the economic and cultural advancement of out country, the FRY, and preserve it for the generations to come in the way that our glorious forebears preserved and loved it for us. Thank you very much.

Army's Readiness, Living Standard To Be Raised

LD0912191394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1827 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—A meeting of the Supreme Defense Council was held in Belgrade today under the chairmanship of Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] president's military office has announced.

In addition to the presence of members of the Supreme Defense Council, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, and Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic, the meeting was also attended by Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, Serbian Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic, Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic, Jovan Zebic, federal deputy prime minister and finance minister, Federal Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic, Colonel General Momcilo Perisic, chief of general staff of the Yugoslav Army, Montenegrin Deputy Prime Minister Kruno Vukcevic, and Serbian Finance Minister Dusan Vlatkovic.

The Supreme Defense Council reviewed elements of Yugoslavia's military budget for 1995, with special emphasis on the need to ensure an adequate level of combat readiness in the Yugoslav Army and in keeping with the main outlines of the program for the reconstruction of the monetary system and the country's economic recovery.

The Supreme Defense Council concluded in this respect that the federal budget for next year should secure the necessary funds to raise the level of combat readiness and to improve the living standards of Yugoslav Army members.

The meeting also examined certain personnel issues under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Defense Council and made appropriate decisions on promotions and appointments in the Yugoslav Army, the statement issued by the FRY president's military office says.

1995 Budget Designates 75 Percent for Army

LD1012154894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1402 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—The federal budget for next year will be 2.115 billion dinars, and will be financed from real sources of income only. The federal budget will account for 9.85 percent of the gross domestic product, the same as this year.

This was decided at a federal government session today, chaired by Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, at which the draft law on the federal budget for 1995 was agreed, the federal information secretariat has announced. [passage omitted]

It is estimated that in 1995 the gross domestic product will rise by 7 percent compared to this year. The main sources for the financing of the federal budget are the basic turnover and excise taxes (55 percent of the total), customs duties and import taxes (27 percent) and other taxes, income from the work of the federal bodies and renting premises.

Most of next year's budget has been earmarked for the financing of the Yugoslav Army—around 75 percent of the federal budget, or 7.5 percent of the gross domestic product. The federal government's decision for public expenditure in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to be 41.16 percent of the estimated gross domestic product represents an obligation and responsibility on the part of all elements in society to vigorously cut public expenditure and save on public spending at all levels. This

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implies further measures in downsizing the state services at the level of municipalities, republics, and the federal state.

At the same time, it will be further examined whether some social and state structures are absolutely necessary, it was concluded at the session. The federal government also believes that this requires an urgent review, too, of all laws and regulations burdening the budget.

Spending for the work of the federal bodies—except the Yugoslav Army—in 1995 will be 1.2 percent of the gross domestic product. [passage omitted]

Further Details on Budget

LD1012193794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1724 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 10 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government decided at its Saturday session that Yugoslavia's 1995 draft budget would be 2.115 million dinars.

An official statement released after the session said the federal budget, to be voted on by the Yugoslav parliament, would be funded solely from sources in real terms.

The statement said the federal budget accounted for 9.85 percent in the social product and would be at the 1994 level. The statement said the Yugoslav Government's firm position was that the stability of prices and the dinar exchange rate at a one-on-one parity with the German mark should represent the continuity of the economic policy, because only this would make possible the relevant economic activities and boost 1995 production.

The statement said the 1995 social product was expected to rise 7 percent as against 1994. The statement said the structure of the federal budget revenue was predominantly composed of the basic income tax and import surcharge that would account for 55 percent of the total funds, with customs and import duties bringing in 27 percent.

The statement said other revenues would be provided from taxes, the work of federal bodies and renting office space.

The statement said 75 percent of the federal budget or 7.50 percent of the social product of the total 1995 budgetary expenditures was planned for the Yugoslav Army.

The statement said this called for additional steps to rationalize public services in municipalities, republics and the federation.

The federal bodies expenditure, the statement said, would account for 1.2 percent of the social product under the budget bill.

Kontic: 1995 GNP Will Be Up 7 Percent

LD0912131194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1236 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic said Thursday the gross national product in 1995 would be 7 percent up from 1994 despite the UN economic sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia. An official statement issued after Kontic's meeting yesterday with Yugoslav, Serbian and Montenegrin government officials and National Bank representatives said they discussed a draft economic policy document for 1995.

Foreign exchange, energy supply and consumption, and the projected balance-of-payments in 1995 were also on the agenda, the statement said. National Bank experts earlier estimated the 1994 GNP at 14 billion dollars, or 4.7 percent up from 1993, and about 15 billion dollars in 1995.

The statement said the participants endorsed a draft 1995 economic policy paper contained in the monetary reconstruction and economic recovery program. The Yugoslav economic recovery program was introduced on 24 January 1994 after two and a half years of a total economic blockade, and has since done away with hyperinflation and created stable conditions for production.

The program pegged the new Yugoslav dinar, fully backed by gold and hard currency, 1:1 to the deutschmark. This contributed to stabilizing conditions for business operations and increasing industrial output, which is expected to be 3 percent up on 1993.

The statement said the 1995 economic policy priority would be maintaining the stability of prices and exchange rates, to which end the government would take all necessary measures. The participants agreed that the stability of prices and the exchange rate were the main prerequisites for increasing industrial production and the GNP.

The draft economic policy document for 1995 should embody coordinated economic, monetary and social policies to be implemented by the federal and republican governments and the National Bank within their respective areas of competence, said the statement.

It was agreed that priority would be given to drafting federal and republican budgets when drawing up 1995 economic policy documents.

National Bank Governor on Yugoslav Economy

LD0912211894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1946 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vienna, Dec 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav National Bank Governor Dragoslav Avramovic said Friday he was optimistic about the future and confident that the Yugoslav economy would overcome difficulties.

In a lecture at the Wiener Institut Fuer Wirtshaftsvergleiche [Vienna Institute for Economic Management], which had invited him, Avramovic said that Yugoslavia had extricated itself from a state of economic chaos over the past year and entered an era of stable prices, stable currency, and increasing production.

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Avramovic said the crucial factor of the succes of the economic recovery program, introduced in January of this year, was the fact that Yugoslavia had balanced its budget owing to the reintroduction of the taxation policy. He said the primary goal of the program was to aid the poorest segments of society, primarily workers. He said "this has won confidence for the program and brought about the necessary feeling of social security."

"I knew the poorest should be helped first because I had seen so many times very good stabilization programs fail in developing countries because of social unrests and workers' dissatisfaction," said Avramovic.

He said that the lifting of the UN sanctions, imposed in May 1992, would be welcome, but that Yugoslavia would 'somehow manage even if it did not occur.'

Asked how the Yugoslavs obtained foreign currency under the sanctions, Avramovic said the Yugoslav case was yet another proof that sanctions were inefficient, because import and export trade still existed although the conditions were far more difficult.

"The sanctions affect only the poor and make corruption and black markets thrive," Avramovic said.

Osmium 187 Found in Ukrainian's Luggage

AU1212111394 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Dec 94 p 15

[S.M.S. report: "'Osmium' Is Not Radioactive"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The mysterious "Osmium 187" found in the luggage of Mr. Valentin Rymskiy, an Ukrainian academician, is neither radioactive nor toxic! It is one of the natural isotopes of the precious metal "osmium," which has the same position in Mendeleyev's periodic table of elements as platinum and iridium.

There are small quantities of it in nature; it appears as the mixture of 37 isotopes (from the chemical point of view, isotopes are the same elements, only their nuclear mass is different), for which reason it is in great demand, but not as a precious metal.

The 186 is the only osmium isotope that has radioactive characteristics, but its half-life is so long that it is almost harmless for the surroundings. The osmium 187, which was found in the car driving on the road between Belgrade and Smederevo, is represented in the natural mixture with 1.6 percent.

According to what Mr. Miroslav Kopecni, the "Vinca" Institute of Nuclear Sciences general manager, says, osmium is characterized by exceptional crystal qualities. It is very sensitive to changes in the magnetic and electric fields. Therefore it is used in manufacturing of sensors on self-homing heads of ballistic missiles.

To the present knowledge, it is separated from the natural mixture only in Russia, the United States, Britain and France. It is sold in one to several gram glass ampules, and its price amounts to several thousand dollars per gram depending on the degree of purity. For several years now the so-called "osmium connection" between Russia and Western countries has been functioning, which—like many similar transactions—leads through Yugoslavia.

Various samples, for which it is assumed that they are osmium isotopes, have been repeatedly examined at the Laboratory of Chemical Dynamics of the "Vinca" Institute. Mr. Josef Comor, who examined the samples, says that the enriched "osmium," as the one mentioned in yesterday's POLITIKA article, has never been found, but he adds that natural osmium has occasionally been found.

Skillful dealers sometimes sell silicon or salt as osmium. This very fine grayish powder is somewhat darker than steel, so that laymen can easily take it for the similar "osmium."

Serbia

BORBA Confirms Milosevic-Karadzic Meeting

AU1012175194 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Dec 94 p 1

[S.N.A.-attributed report: "Milosevic-Karadzic Meeting Was Held After All"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—Following a report by Monte Carlo television yesterday that a meeting between Slobodan Milosevic, Radovan Karadzic, and representatives of the Bosnian Serbs was held with Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairman of the Conference on the former Yugoslavia, and U.S. Ambassador Charles Redman in Karadjordjevo on Wednesday [7 December], BORBA has obtained unofficial but reliable information that this meeting did indeed take place.

Our sources, which are close to Pale, only denied the information that the meeting took place on Wednesday. The meeting was held "three or four days ago," and this is especially important, before the meeting between Slobodan Milosevic and a Pale delegation led by Aleksa Buha, foreign minister of the Srpska republic.

Jovanovic: Talks With Pale 'Encouraging'

AU1012215294 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 7 Dec 94 p 5

[T.M.T. and I.S.-attributed report: "An Encouraging Step Toward Peace"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The talks between Serbian President Milosevic and a delegation of the Srpska republic [RS] Assembly are an encouraging sign as they lead to progress in the peace process. They confirm the growing inclination among the deputies of the RS Assembly toward a global political solution that would mean the end of the war and the crisis. This was stated by Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic, during a short conversation with assembly reporters.

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Stressing that the members of the RS delegation received first-hand information in these talks on the latest contacts between Milosevic and foreign representatives, Jovanovic said that this information was invaluable to them for a more comprehensive and more realistic understanding of the options offered by the Contact Group's plan.

"This plan, especially in conjunction with the most recent explanations and certain additions, is offering a way out of the grave situation and the final settlement of our Serb-Serb rift," Jovanovic stressed.

Replying to a journalist's question whether the talks meant a rapprochement in the stands of Pale and Belgrade, the minister said that "at least one significant section of the RS Assembly was moving closer toward reality, that is, a more realistic analysis of the right paths to solving the crisis." Jovanovic saw in this the acknowledgement of Yugoslavia's efforts. The most agile in the quest for a solution acceptable to all three sides is Serbian President Milosevic. This solution is a solution based on equality, the equal respect of the legitimate interests and rights of all three warring parties.

Jovanovic holds the view that this meeting should be followed by "other encouraging signs." As the journalists have learned, nothing concrete is being said about the return visit to Belgrade by Croatian Foreign Minister Granic. According to Jovanovic, the invitation is open. Granic can come whenever he thinks the visit would benefit Croatia and the peace process.

Milosevic Receives Greek Opposition Party Leader

LD0912183094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1547 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, president of the republic of Serbia, has received Miltiadhis Evert, prominent Greek politician and chairman of the New Democracy party, and his associates, the president's office has announced.

Welcoming his Greek guests, President Milosevic said he expects future cooperation to be marked by the same level of mutual understanding and trust that characterized relations with Evert's predecessor, Constantine Mitzotakis, with whom he is maintaining friendly ties and collaboration. [passage omitted]

Milosevic, Evert Comment

AU0912213494 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Dec 94

[Statements by President Slobodan Milosevic and Miltiadhis Evert, head of the Greek New Democracy Party, in Belgrade on 9 December—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Milosevic] Good day. I feel very well and I would first of all like to greet our esteemed Greek guests, and particularly Mr. Evert. While awaiting this meeting, I wished to establish with Mr.Evert such good relations of mutual understanding that I had with his predecessor, Konstandinos Mitsotakis. I would like to say that this first meeting of ours has confirmed my expectations. We achieved a high level of understanding in all the issues we talked about. This meeting has doubtlessly confirmed that in both the Greek people and the state we have a lasting and true friend that—as has been demonstrated—we could depend on even in these difficult times and that our friendship has withstood the trials and temptations that the recent years have imposed.

We talked very much about relations in the region, about our joint goals, and about our bilateral relations. It is beyond doubt that there are many opportunities for a really strong expansion of our mutual bilateral relations, and I do not doubt that Mr.Evert and many of his associates, as well as the majority of Greek politicians and the entire Greek people, just as, after all, the Serbian people and politicians in Serbia, will all together contribute to our relations developing in the spirit of our traditional friendship, becoming ever better and more successful, and more fruitful in all spheres of our mutual cooperation—ranging from economy to culture and to all other questions on which states and peoples can cooperate.

I hope that in this we shall have a full and good success and, in this respect, I wish much success to our esteemed guest.

[Unidentified correspondent, in Greek with superimposed translation into Serbo-Croatian] Mr. President [as heard], you have come to Belgrade for the first time as an opposition leader. Are you optimistic after what you have heard about the Yugoslav crisis?

[Evert, in Greek with superimposed translation into Serbo- Croatian] We had a constructive, frank, and friendly talk about all issues regarding the Balkans. We listened to President Milosevic's stands with great attention. We see that he tackles issues with courage and realism, and we shall convey his stands both to the Europeans and those who are participating in the European Union—and the American side in particular—because Greece believes that problems should be solved in a peaceful way. It is in the interest of all Balkan peoples to solve our problems in a peaceful way.

On the other hand, our party and all of Greece are investing all possible efforts for the drama that is taking place in Bosnia today, and which also concerns Serbia, to find its solution.

Competition Between Smugglers Lowering Gas Prices

AU1212120494 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 December 94 p 15

[Z. Simic report: "A Conflict Between Big and Small Smugglers"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Veliko Gradiste, 7 December—At the highway exit from Belgrade to Pozarevac there has been much confusion for months already. People from lines of cars with mostly Belgrade and Kragujevac registration plates seem to come here in order to see what has happened at Veliko Gradiste and Golubac on the Danube.

The prices of gasoline cans change every day. The gasoline and diesel prices have considerably dropped; it is considered that the price of 2 DM [German Mark] per liter of super is over. Yesterday's price was between 1.35 to 1.4 DM, one could even find it for 1.30 DM. The analysis of the situation around Veliko Gradiste—from the village of Ostrvo to the village of Pozezeno—shows that there are large quantities of fuel for cars and tractors; the supply is rising and demand falling. Fuel dealers claim that this is in part a consequence of the decision passed by official authorities to allow free selling of certain quantities of gasoline around 29 November at the price of 2.8 dinars per liter. Many people filled the tanks of their cars because they could pay with bank checks and got "good gasoline from a gas station."

Two Centers

This is, however, only part of the story. In the vicinity of Veliko Gradiste and Golubac there has happened something much more important among the "shayks." Two of the largest suppliers, who we talked to (they did not even want to disclose their names, let alone be seen giving an interview for a paper), interpret the "collapse of the oil fields" on the Danube in the following way. First, "everybody who has a car and five cans," one of them said, "wanted to make money by selling gas."

He continued, "The business expanded and even small children started smuggling fuel far away from Veliko Gradiste and Golubac. The price fell because of good supply. Large suppliers with big boats who can transport between 1,500 and 2,000 liters of gas per night from the Romanian side decided 'to settle the accounts' with those who spoil their business."

"There is no reason to lie," the other told us, "it was us 'large suppliers' who deliberately brought down gas prices in order to destroy the 'small.' A liter of gas is sold for 1.1 DM in the vicinity of Gradiste and it can be bought for 1 DM in Vinci near Golubac. Now, people want to buy gas on the Danube below 0.8 DM per liter so that they come from Majilovci, Siranovo and even from villages and towns further away. They will destroy our business and our connections...."

There are rumors that there are two large suppliers' centers—one in the village of Ostrvo, which is kept by dealers from Kragujevac, and the other in the village of Vince near Golubac, which is kept by Belgrade dealers. The market on the Danube where gas was sold during the night to dealers functioned impeccably until recently. It was known how much the communal authority has to receive as the "tax for the use of the river bank," how much customs authorities have to receive and how much the police has to get when they stop you on the road.

Why Did the Business Stop?

One of the "smaller shayks" told us the following story: "There came to problems on the Rumanian side because of the shortage of gas in the vicinity of the border so that the suppliers had to go as far as Timisoara and even further. There came to a standstill after an unbribable customs officer from Timisoara, known as 'major,' started working as the control chief. He did not want to take anything his colleagues used to take from us...."

Why did the big suppliers try to drown the increasingly large number of small suppliers in the Danube? The supplier in charge of the Veliko Gradiste area told us the following story: "This is neither an easy nor a harmless business, you cannot earn millions in a month. You have to invest at least 5,000 DM in a boat and 1,000 DM in cans. Apart from that, you must have at least 2,500 DM on you if you get caught on the Romanian side during the night. You are exposed to danger every night because you do not know whether a fool will break the promise and shoot. There are also things people do not know: you have to pay taxes to the communal authority, you have to bribe some other people, too, and communal authorities do not make any problems normally. The position of the customs has not been clear for some time now—more and more frequently they catch people on the Danube and take gas away from them. We do not know what they do with it...."

It is also claimed that the gas price plunged because of the competition between the suppliers from Veliko Gradiste and Golubac. The suppliers from the vicinity of Veliko Gradiste say: "If they are Kuwait on the Danube, we are Saudi Arabia...." There are rules and morals in this business. "Apart from three barrels of good gas I got a barrel of muddy," a supplier from Pozezeno told us. "I sold it to a regular customer and since it was not good, I will have to give him the money back. Everything is known, the only secret lies in the fact that we buy the gas from our suppliers in Romania...."

Poll Gauges Public Attitudes Toward War

AU1112144794

[FBIS Editorial Report] Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian on 7 December on page 4 carries an approximately 200-word report on the results of an opinion poll on the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, entitled "Every 10th Citizen of Serbia Thinks That the War in Bosnia Will Never End."

According to the report, "the poll that we conducted at the end of last week encompasses 180 citizens from all parts of Serbia. We contacted them using the random sample method. Considering that this was a telephone poll, the sample mainly includes urban population. The number of respondents in different parts of the republic is proportionate to the number of citizens in that region.

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"The questions were mainly answered by the citizens of Serb nationality. In relation to the real picture of the population, most deviations appeared in the sample's educational structure. The sample contains fewer respondents with (un)finished elementary education and three-year technical training. This time, there are also somewhat fewer women than men.

"The questions were of the closed type. The respondents came up with answers before those conducting the poll had offered them the planned 'alternatives.'"

The results of the poll are presented in five pie charts and expressed in percentages as follows:

1. "How long will the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina last?"	
Up to one year	25.5
This is the end of it	12.8
A few years	11.1
Indefinitely	9.4
As long as S. Milosevic is in power	6.7
As long as world powers control our fate	5
1-3 years	5
Several decades	2.8
As long as Karadzic and Milosevic are in power	2.2
As long as Karadzic and Mladic are in power	2.2
Do not know	16.1
Other answers	1.2
2. "Will the Contact Group for Bosnia-Herzegovina make corrections to the peace plan that will make it acceptable to the Bosnian Serbs?"	
Yes	46.1
No	37.2
No, international community will never yield	3.9
It will not be completely acceptable	2.8
Do not know, everything depends on big powers	2.2
Serbs will never accept what the international community offers them	1.1
Do not know	6.7
3. "Could the war spread to Serbia and Montenegro?"	
No	60
Yes	33.9
Do not know	6.1
4. "Should UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] withdraw from Bosnia-Herzegovina?"	
No	53.9
Yes	37.2
Do not know	8.9
5. "Can NATO military intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina stop the war?"	
No	80
No, the war can only be stopped if the warring sides agree to do so	11.1
Yes	6.7
No, but the negotiations should be attended by representatives of international community	1.7
Do not know	0.5

Kosovo

Hyseni Asks Serbia To Adopt 'Another Stance'

AU0912214994 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] At a news conference held by the Democratic League of Kosova [LDK] in Prishtina today, it was stressed that repression in Kosova has assumed upsetting dimensions. However, the fact that the peaceful policy of Albanians is finding support in international bodies is very encouraging. Here is a report by correspondent Skender Durmishi from Prishtina:

[Durmishi] Surveying the situation, Hydajet Hyseni, deputy chairman of the Democratic League of Kosova, assessed that this week, too, Kosova was an arena of confrontation between force and justice, between the force of arguments and the arguments of force, between just aspirations and the anachronistic policy of the pathological hatred.

Referring to data provided by the Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, Hydajet Hyseni informed correspondents about some of the most serious cases and forms of police repression in Kosova.

In the LDK's name, Hyseni protested against all arrests and forms of violence. He greeted the similar reactions by international organizations and invited them to be more active and more zealous in protecting Kosova. In this framework, Mr. Hyseni hailed the reaction of the Serbian branch of the Helsinki Committee and asked the public and the Serbian opposition not to identify themselves with the chauvinist course against Kosova.

The LDK deputy chairman called on official Serbia to adopt another stance on Kosova, stressing that Serbia cannot become democratic until it is not liberated from the anti-Albanian policy and Kosova, which should serve as a primary test.

Hyseni expressed the hope that Europe and its revived conference will surpass blockades and impositions and will create the necessary pre-conditions for a fair and lasting solution to the unsolved national issues.

With deep confidence in this course and cause, the LDK and the people in Kosova have faced, and will continue to face with an extraordinary temper and dignity, the

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provocations and repression perpetrated against them, testifying in a most just and convincing way to the definition of the road of peace and democracy, Hyseni said. Although this political road is difficult, the situation is finding increasing support in the international arena and this is seen in a series of statements by international personalities, such as Clinton, Christopher, and Kinkel.

Another indication of the support for the peaceful policy is the visit of President Rugova to the United States and the important meetings he is holding with U.S. officials, Hyseni stressed at today's news conference.

LDK, Italian Officials Discuss Serb Violence

AU0912144094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 8 Dec 94

[Telephone report by Leke Musolli]

[FBIS Translated Text] At a meeting held at the Italian Embassy in Belgrade with Libio Caputo, Italian deputy state secretary for foreign affairs, Hydajet Hyseni, deputy chairman of the Democratic League of Kosova [LDK], spoke about the latest situation in Kosova and the possibility of resolving the Kosova issue.

Hyseni briefed the Italian diplomat particularly on escalation of Serbian state violence against Albanians and the danger of ascent of conflict in Kosova. Hyseni stressed that international presence in Kosova is necessary and reiterated President Rugova's demand for an international civil protectorate in Kosova. Hyseni said that we consider the current escalation of Serbian violence against Albanians to be a testimony that the Belgrade regime does not wish dialogue with Prishtina.

Meanwhile, LDK Secretary General Fatmir Sejdiu and LDK Presidency member Basri Musmurati held a meeting with Antje Jesen, charge d'affaires at the Danish Embassy in Belgrade. They described the situation in Kosova to be grave and dangerous and estimated that the Serbian regime campaign over the past weeks against trade union activists, former police workers of Kosova, is being perpetrated with the aim of damaging and discrediting the peaceful movement of Albanians, as well as threatening the unprotected people of Kosova to abandon its legitimate determinations.

At this meeting, they spoke about concerns regarding the position of Albanian refugees in Denmark.

Turkish Popular Party Chairman Arrested

AU1012160094 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 7 Dec 94 p 16

[A.Z. report: "Sezair Shaipi, Chairman of the Turkish Popular Party, Arrested"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prizren, 6 Dec—In the early hours of this morning, 10 uniformed policemen and two Serbian plainclothesman arrested Sezair Shaipi, chairman of the Prizren-based Turkish Popular Party. His wife informed us that the family apartment was ransacked in the course of his arrest. At the time of going to press, there was no official data from the Serbian police about the reason for the arrest of the chairman of the Turkish Popular Party.

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